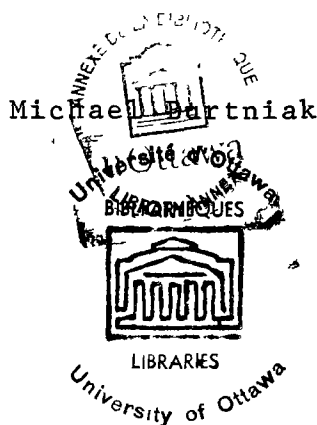


THE ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE  
PROPER AND COMMON ANIMATE NOUNS IN THE  
LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

by



Dissertation presented to the School of  
Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Ottawa  
Canada, 1972



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## VITA STUDIORUM

Michael Burtniak was born on March 17th, 1925, in the Western Ukraine. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Toronto in 1951 and 1953, respectively.

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## List of Abbreviations

acc.	accusative
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
gen.-acc.	genitive-accusative
Hyp.	Hypatian Chronicle
La.	Laurentian Chronicle
masc.	masculine
nom.	nominative
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
plu.	plural
sing.	singular

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Transliteration Table for  
Old Church Slavonic

А - А	Ф - F
Б - В	Ѡ - T
В - V	Х - KH
Г - H	Ѡ - O
Д - D	Ѱ - SHT
Е - E	Ц - TS
Ж - ZH	Ч - CH
С, З - DZ	Ш - SH
З - Z	Ъ - ъ
И - I	Ы - Y
И - I	Ь - ь
К - K	Ѣ - Ě
Л - L	Ю - JU
М - M	Ѧ - JA
Н - N	Ѧ - JE
О - O	Ѧ - Ě
П - P	Ѧ - Q
Р - R	Ѧ - JĚ
С - S	Ѧ - JQ
Т - T	Ѧ - KS
ОУ - U	Ѧ - PS
Ѧ - U	Ѧ - I
Ѧ - U	

Transliteration Table for Early  
and Middle East Slavic

А - А	у, ѱ, оу - U
Б - В	Ф - F
В - V	Х - KH
Г - G	Ѡ - O
Г - Н (Ukr. & Br.)	Ц - TS
Г' - G (Ukr.)	Ч - CH
Д - D	Ш - SH
Е - E	Щ - SHT
Ж - ZH	Ъ - Ъ
С - Z	Ы - Y
З - Z	Ь - Ь
Н - I	Ѣ - Ё
И, І - I	Ю - JU
Ї - Ī <sup>eo</sup>	Ѧ - JA
К - K	Ѧ - JE
Л - L	Ѧ - JA
М - M	Ѧ - U
Н - N	Ѧ - JA
О - O	Ѧ - JU
П - P	Ѧ - KS
Р - R	Ѧ - PS
С - S	Ѧ - F
Т - T	Ѧ - I

Transliteration\* Table for Modern  
Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian

А -	A	Н -	N
Б -	B	О -	O
В -	V	П -	P
Г -	G (Ru.)	Р -	R
Г -	H (Br. & Ukr.)	С -	S
Г' -	G (Ukr.)	Т -	T
Д -	D	У -	U
Е -	E	Ў -	Ŭ (Br.)
Ё -	Ë (Ru. & Br.)	Ф -	F
Є -	JE (Ukr.)	Х -	KH
Ж -	ZH	Ц -	TS
З -	Z	Ч -	CH
И -	I (Ru.)	Ш -	SH
И -	Y (Ukr.)	Щ -	SHCH (Ru. & Ukr.)
І -	I (Br. & Ukr.)	Ъ -	Ъ
Й -	J	Ы -	Y (Ru. & Br.)
Ї -	Ï (Ukr.)	Ь -	Ь
К -	K	Э -	É (Ru. & Br.)
Л -	L	Ю -	JU
М -	M	Я -	JA

\*The system of transliteration adopted in this work for modern Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian alphabets is that of the Library of Congress with slight modifications for technical reasons. The modifications consist in using 'j' in place of 'ï' in letters 'iu' and 'ia', and for letter 'ï'. Also, the ligatures over letters 'ts', 'iü' and 'ia' have been omitted. Finally, the hard and soft signs -- ъ and ь -- have been used in place of " and ' respectively.

## INTRODUCTION

The problem to be investigated in this dissertation is the animate-inanimate category as it is reflected in the proper and common animate nouns in the Laurentian (1377) and Hypatian (ca. 1420) Chronicles. The term animate-inanimate category indicates that the nom. and acc. cases of the animate nouns are morphologically distinct. The same cases of the inanimate nouns are identical. The grammatical logic of the animate-inanimate category depends on the morphological differentiation of the subject and object cases in the animate nouns, as opposed to non-differentiation of these cases in the inanimate nouns.

The animate-inanimate category was inherited from the Indo-European system by the Common Slavic and historical Slavic languages. However, as a result of phonetic changes during the late Common Slavic period, the nom. and acc. cases of animate nouns became identical. The first group of animate nouns included the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, and -u- stems and the masc. and fem. sing. -i- stem nouns. The masc. and fem. plu. -a-, -ja-, -i- stems, the fem. plu. -ii-, -er-, -ū- stems, and the fem. plu. nouns with the suffix -yn'i (⟨yn'a) comprised the second group. The identification of the nom. and acc. cases in the above two groups of animate nouns precluded syntactical clarity with respect to the subject-object relationship. Concurrently, the principle

upon which the animate-inanimate category was based--the morphologically different nom. and acc. cases--was undermined in the animate nouns.

In order to restore morphological distinction between the subject and object cases, the gen. case was adopted for the acc. function in animate nouns. The use of the gen.-acc. case gave rise to the substitution phenomenon. This phenomenon, which appeared after the phonetic changes in the late Common Slavic period, was retained in the historical Slavic languages. The substitution process not only restored the morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. cases of animate nouns for syntactical considerations, it became the medium for the restoration and support of the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns. With the introduction of the substitution process, the animate-inanimate category began to express itself differently. Prior to the phonetic changes, distinct nom. and acc. cases were used, while after the phonetic changes the gen.-acc. case was used for the acc. function. In other words, the principle on which the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression remained basically the same, only the means -- the use of the gen.-acc. case -- became a new factor during its development after the phonetic changes.

Since the substitution phenomenon as a process evolved gradually, it did not affect all categories of animate nouns at the same time. For this reason, the status

of the animate-inanimate category was directly dependent of the progress of the substitution process in the different categories of animate nouns.

The OCS, and the East Slavic monuments, encompassing the tenth and the early fifteenth centuries, attest to the presence of the substitution process in different sing. and plu. animate nouns denoting persons and animals. The substitution process is particularly manifest in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles. Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation is to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns in the two Chronicles. Specifically, the objective of this research is:

to examine the substitution process as it progressively affected the following groups of animate nouns: masc. sing. proper nouns; masc. plu. nouns denoting persons and various peoples; fem. plu. nouns denoting persons; sing. and plu. nouns denoting children; and sing. and plu. nouns denoting members of the animate kingdom in order to ascertain the status of the animate-inanimate category in these nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

In the different terms, the aim of this investigation is to establish the scope of the use of the old acc. case and the gen.-acc. cases in the animate nouns in order to determine to what extent the category relied on these cases in the two Chronicles.

The importance of this investigation lies in the fact that the animate-inanimate category was not studied in the two Chronicles which represent the best specimens of

annalistic literature of the Eastern Slavs. It is hoped that the findings of this research will reveal the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles, and will contribute to better understanding of the animate-inanimate category in its development after phonetic changes.

The plan and the order of topics of this dissertation will be comprised of this introduction, one chapter devoted to the origin of the problem, another to the review of previous research of the problem, nine chapters dealing with the present research, and a summary and conclusion.

The introduction will concern itself with a brief statement of the problem, its importance, and the general plan of the dissertation. These items will be followed by a description of the sources and methodology to be used in the dissertation.

Chapter I will deal with the origin of the problem. It will focus both on the nature of the animate-inanimate category in the Indo-European system and on the phonetic changes which occurred during the late Common Slavic period. These changes disrupted the symmetrical distribution of nouns, and undermined the animate-inanimate category in animate nouns of various stems. The final section of the chapter will characterize the substitution phenomenon as an attempt to restore morphological differentiation in the nom. and acc. cases, and to uphold the animate-inanimate category in masc. sing. animate nouns.

A survey of the previous research by scholars who sought to explain the dynamics of the substitution process, and a critique of their findings, will constitute the subject matter of chapter II. The succeeding chapters will deal with the subject proper of the dissertation.

Chapter III will examine the substitution process and assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. sing. proper nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

In chapter IV, the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons will be scrutinized with respect to substitution and its effect on the animate-inanimate category.

Since the substitution process was extended to the plu. nouns, chapters V, VI, and VII will deal with the masc. plu. nouns of various stems denoting persons, and will appraise the animate-inanimate category accordingly.

In chapter VIII, attention will be devoted to the masc. plu. nouns denoting various peoples in order to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in these nouns.

Chapter IX will examine the substitution process and the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons.

In chapter X, the last group of sing. and plu. nouns denoting persons - children -- will be analyzed with respect to the substitution process and its effect on the animate-inanimate category.

Chapter XI, the final chapter of the dissertation, will deal with the sing. and plu. nouns denoting members of the animal kingdom.

In the summary and conclusion, the findings of the research will be correlated in an effort to characterize the status and the developmental phase of the animate-inanimate category as it was reflected in various animate nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles. In addition, a plausible explanation of the nature of the animate-inanimate category, and its manner of re-establishment, will be advanced. Finally, pertinent observations derived from this research will be stated in an attempt to clarify the problem under discussion.

The materials to be used in the dissertation will include primary and secondary sources. Since the objective of this research is to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the Laurentian and the Hypatian Chronicles, they will constitute the primary sources.

The Laurentian Chronicle, a Northern East Slavic redaction, and a copy of still older Chronicles, was compiled by monk Lavrentij for Prince Dmitrij Konstantinovich of <sup>2</sup>Sudal<sup>6</sup> in 1377. This Chronicle includes "Povest<sup>6</sup> vremennykh let", whose narration terminates in the year 1110. The second constituent part of the Laurentian Chronicle is the "Suzdal<sup>6</sup>-skaja letopis<sup>6</sup>", which ends in the year 1305. It is followed by a third part - - its supplement, known as

"Akademicheskij spisok", and describes the events to the year 1419. In this investigation, a photocopy of the 1926 edition prepared by E. F. Karskij will be used.

The Hypatian Chronicle, a Southern East Slavic recension of several older compilations, was prepared in the Pskov region in the 1420's. It contains "Povestĭ", with its narration to the year 1110; the Kievan Chronicle which ends in the year 1199; and the Galician-Volynian Chronicle from 1205 to 1289. A 1962 reproduction of the 1908 edition of the Hypatian Chronicle will be used in this research.

The secondary sources will fall into two categories. The first type will consist of specific studies in which the substitution process, the animate-inanimate category and related topics are discussed. Three different kinds of works are included: books, articles, and book reviews. The second group of secondary sources, dealing with general studies, will be comprised of surveys related to the Common Slavic language; descriptive and historical grammars of the OCS and East Slavic languages.

With respect to the first group of specific studies concerning the use of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. case, one must mention A. Meillet's Recherches sur l'emploi du génitif-accusatif en vieux slave, which was published in 1897. In this book, Meillet examined various pronouns, substantivized adjectives and participles, as

well as animate nouns, in order to ascertain the dimensions of the substitutional process in the OCS, the first recorded language of the Slavs.

Following the appearance of Meillet's study, a number of specific articles, devoted to the problem of substitution, appeared during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Such scholars as W. Vondrak, K. Mühlenbach, Erich Berneker, N. P. Nekrasov and A. I. Thomson tried to discover the conditions which gave rise to the substitution phenomenon. Their speculations yielded several divergent hypotheses regarding the origin of the substitution process in the animate nouns.

A more recent investigation of the substitution process was undertaken by Soviet scholars in the fifties of this century. It was provoked by P. S. Kuznetsov's "sociological" interpretation of the substitution process in the East Slavic texts. E. I. Kedajtene, who tried to refute Kuznetsov's hypothesis, published two articles dealing with substitution phenomenon in the East Slavic monuments of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, inclusive. In these articles, she devoted some attention to the problem of substitution, as it is reflected in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

Another group of secondary sources, under the heading of general studies will be comprised of standard textbooks of the OCS language, and a number of historical grammars

dealing with the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian languages. In addition, George's Y. Shevelov's A Prehistory of Slavic; The Historical Phonology of Common Slavic, published in 1964, will be used to explain the phonetic changes which brought about identification in the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns.

The methodology to be used in this research involves several procedures.

It should be noted that each chapter contains an introductory section outlining the problem and the procedure to be followed in the discussion. Also, whenever it was appropriate, the analysis of the substitution phenomenon and the assessment of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles was preceded by a consideration of the same category in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments. This procedure was used to illustrate the continuity of the substitution process, and to establish the relevancy of the topic under discussion in the two Chronicles.

Furthermore, the division of chapters, except for chapters I and II, was organized on the basis of topics, represented by various animate nouns denoting persons, and nouns denoting animate beings other than persons. In certain instances, for the sake of greater clarity, the chapters were arranged according to the types of nouns and their specific stems. Chronological principle was also observed in the sequent treatment of the types of nouns,

beginning with the masc. proper nouns and ending with the animate nouns denoting animals, in which the substitution process had made its appearance.

A more detailed discussion concerning the procedures to be followed in each chapter is presented in the following remarks.

In chapter I, where the genesis of the problem will be discussed, the procedure will consist of characterizing the animate-inanimate category in the Indo-European and Common Slavic periods. The next step in the procedure will entail an account of the phonetic changes which undermined the equilibrium of the animate-inanimate category in the late Common Slavic period. In the final section of the chapter, the motivations and the substitution process for the restoration of the animate-inanimate category will be presented.

Since chapter II will concern itself with previous research and its critique, the method will involve a critical reading of the material dealing with the substitution process and the animate-inanimate category. Because the views of the scholars differ with respect to the origin of the substitution process, the procedure here will call for chronological and thematic classification of various hypotheses in order to obtain a better perspective of the problem.

Chapters III to XI will deal with the central theme of the dissertation, which is the status and the development of the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns in the

Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles. The procedure and the technique will differ from <sup>The</sup> preceding two chapters. Specifically, the procedure in these chapters will involve an examination of the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in animate nouns of different stems. These nouns include the following: the masc. sing. proper nouns; the masc. sing. common nouns denoting persons; the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons and various peoples; the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons; the sing. and plu. nouns denoting children; and the sing. plu. nouns referring to animals. The frequency of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in each group of nouns will be statistically analyzed. The statistics will then be evaluated, compared, and correlated to determine the progress of the substitution process, and its effect on the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles.

It is hoped that the application of these procedures and techniques will illustrate the developmental phase and the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles.

In the final section of the dissertation, the summary and conclusion, a brief statement concerning the research will be presented. Pertinent observations regarding the substitution process and its effect on the animate-inanimate category in the Chronicles will be advanced. Recommendations involving further research into the nature of the substitution

phenomenon and the animate-inanimate category in other literary monuments will be suggested.

## CHAPTER I

### THE ORIGIN OF THE PROBLEM

#### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore both the circumstances and conditions which led to the loss of the differentiation between the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns during the late Common Slavic period, and the subsequent rise of the substitution process, which restored the distinction between the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns. To this end, the chapter is divided into three sections.

The first section will deal with the nature of the animate-inanimate category in the Indo-European system. Section two will discuss the origin and the effects of the phonetic changes on the phonomorphology, syntax, and on the animate-inanimate category in the late Common Slavic period. The reasons for the emergence of the substitution process will be considered in the third section.

1. Animate-Inanimate Category in  
the Indo-European System

In the Indo-European system, the animate-inanimate category as a grammatical device entailed a division of nouns into the animate and inanimate subgroups.

The animate group was comprised of both masc. and fem. nouns which denoted persons, and whose nom. and acc. cases in the sing. and plu. numbers were phonetically and morphologically different.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, there was no syntactical ambivalence regarding the subject and object relationship of these nouns.

The inanimate category included sing. and plu. neuter nouns as well as nouns of the dual number of all three genders. Each of these nouns had the same nom. and acc. cases in all three numbers. Since the neuter nouns "... sert pour les choses et ne désigne des personnes qu'autant qu'elles ne sont pas envisagées comme personnes."<sup>2</sup> they were used primarily in the

<sup>1</sup>A. Meillet, "Du Nominatif-accusatif masculin en slave commun", in the Société de linguistique de Paris, Bulletin, XXIII (1922). 88.

<sup>2</sup>Meillet, Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes (Paris: Hachette, 1922), pp. 189, 341. (Hereafter referred to as Introduction à l'étude comparative....).

objective function rather than as subject and object in the same sentence. Although the nom. and acc. cases of the nouns of the dual number were the same, the respective cases were preceded by the appropriate case of the numeral "two", which prevented syntactical confusion of the two morphologically identical yet functionally different cases.

Thus, the division of nouns into two groups, the animate, where the nom. and acc. cases were different, and the inanimate, where the nom. and acc. cases were the same, provided a framework and a criterion for the most adequate expression of the animate-inanimate category.

In spite of the division of nouns into animate and inanimate, there were instances when the meaning and scope of the inanimate category, as it was understood and applied in the Indo-European system, meant that "... tout ce qui se muet, tout ce qui agit est susceptible d'être considéré comme 'animé'."<sup>3</sup> In other words, the inanimate nouns could be considered as animate, when they were used metaphorically or as personified beings. In addition, the inanimate nouns which signified action or an active force, and those of the nomina agentis<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Meillet, Introduction à l'étude comparative..., p. 339.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 340-341; Karl Brugmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indo-germanischen Sprachen (Strassburg: Trubner, 1889), Vol. II, pp. 431-433.

could also be regarded as animate nouns.<sup>5</sup> In this context, the acc. case of the inanimate nouns was expressed by the gen. case.<sup>6</sup>

The significance of the animate-inanimate category lies in the fact that the syntactical relationship of the subject and object was easily identified in the masc. and fem. animate nouns denoting persons by the phonetic and morphological dissimilarities in the nom. and acc. sing. and plu. cases. In the inanimate nouns, which signified 'things' in the objective function, and which were rarely used as animate nouns, the formal distinction in the nom. and acc. cases was unimportant. Furthermore, this classification of nouns into animate and inanimate, the former denoting persons and the latter non-persons, implied a principle of opposition between the 'personal' and 'impersonal' which preceded the animate-inanimate relationship.<sup>7</sup> In this context, the word 'personal' signified the noun which can act. The term 'impersonal' meant non-living things which lacked the capacity to act.

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<sup>5</sup>Meillet, Introduction à l'étude comparative..., p. 340.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Meillet, Recherches sur l'emploi du génitif-accusatif en vieux-slave (Paris: Bouillon, 1897), p. 140 (Hereafter referred to as Recherches...).

Therefore, they appeared in the objective case.

In spite of the cogency of the animate-inanimate category as a grammatical device in the domain of syntax in the Indo-European system, the two-fold division of nouns was undermined in the late Common Slavic period by phonetic changes.

2. Phonetic Changes and Their Effects  
on the Animate-Inanimate Category  
in the Late Common Slavic Period

Although the Indo-European principle of the animate-inanimate category as a grammatical device was inherited by the Common Slavic language, the phonetic changes which occurred during the late Common Slavic period brought about the identification of the nom. and acc. cases of the animate nouns. These nouns comprised two groups. One group of animate nouns included the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u-stem, and the masc. and fem. sing. -i-stem nouns. Another group consisted of the masc. and fem. plu. -a-, -ja-, -i-stems, and fem. plu. -ii-, -er-, and -ū-stems, and the fem. plu. nouns with the suffix -yn'- (yn'a).<sup>8</sup>

The masc. sing. nouns of the -o-, -jo-, -u-stems, and masc. and fem. -i-stems lost the consonants -S and -N,

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<sup>8</sup>The phonetic changes which occurred in this group of nouns will be discussed in chapter IX.

which denoted the nom. and acc. cases, respectively. Of the two consonants, -S and -N, the acc. case-ending -N was chronologically lost first. Its disappearance after short vowels was a phonetically motivated phenomenon, ascribed primarily to the weakening of the articulation of unaccented syllables with short vowels in words other than monosyllabic, and to the narrowing of short vowels before nasals in closed and final syllables.<sup>9</sup> As a consequence of the loss of -N by the acc. case of the masc. sing. -o-stem nouns, the thematic vowel -o- narrowed itself to -u. In the OCS language it was represented by a back reduced vowel, - ъ. The progression of this phonetic change can be illustrated by the following example: \*orb-o-N > \*orb-u-N > \*orb-u  
 OCS rob-ъ or rab-ъ.<sup>10</sup>

After the loss of the acc. case-ending -N in the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns, the vowel -o- standing after jot changed to -u- and then became a reduced front vowel -ѣ, as evidenced by the OCS language. These changes can be observed in the following word: \*kon-jo-N > \*kon-ju > \*kon-jѣ > OCS kon'-ѣ. As for the masc. sing. -u-stem

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<sup>9</sup>Meillet, Le slave commun (Paris: Champion, 1924), pp. 129-130, 334-335, 349-353; "Sur le traitement de o en syllable finale slave," in the Mémoires de la Société linguistique de Paris, XIX (1916), p. 248-288; George Y. Shevelov, A Prehistory of Slavic, The Historical Phonology of Common Slavic (Heidelberg: Winter, 1964), pp. 156-157, 224 225, 332-334.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns, the dropping of the acc. sing. case-ending -N evoked no change in the preceding thematic vowels. They remained as the acc. case-endings of the respective nouns, for example:

\*sun-u-N > \* sun-u > OCS syn-ъ; masc. \*gost-i-N > \* gost-i > OCS gost-ь; and fem. \*gōs-i-N > \*gōs-i > OCS gōs-ь.

Thus the consonant -N no longer denoted the acc. case in the -o-, -jo-, -u-, and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns. Instead, the acc. case-ending of the -o- and -u-stem nouns was represented by the vowel - ь, while the -jo- and -i-stems had the vowel -ь for their acc. ending.

Finally, the loss of -N shortened the morphological structure of the acc. case by one phoneme.

The exact time of the loss of nasal -N in word-final position in the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u- and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns cannot be determined because the evidence of its loss is based on three linguistic changes which occurred during the Common Slavic period.<sup>11</sup>

First, the consonant -N in final position was probably dropped soon after the syllabic sonants were devocalized because "the loss of -N in the acc. sg. of consonantal stems ... proceeded in the same way as in i-stems" and gave the same ending -ь. Since the split

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 224-225.

of syllabic sonants took place during the period of Common Baltic and Slavic developments; that is, around the second century B.C., one can surmise that the nasal consonant -N was lost later, approximately between the fifth century B. C. and the fifth century A. D.<sup>12</sup>

Second, the loss of nasal -N could have occurred before the vowels 'o' and 'a' blended into the  $\widehat{oA}$  type of vowel, which is of a broader aperture. This would have prevented the narrowing of  $\widehat{oA}$  into an 'u' before -N. Therefore, Shevelov presupposes that the loss of nasal -N occurred before the vowels 'o' and 'a' coalesced into  $\widehat{oA}$ ; that is, before the sixth or fifth century B. C.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, since the loss of nasal -N in final position preceded the monophthongization phenomenon of long nasal diphthongs which occurred around the seventh century A.D., it is likely that -N was lost by the seventh century A.D.<sup>14</sup>

Although it is impossible to establish exact chronology for the loss of the nasal consonant -N in final position, the above considerations lead one to conclude that it was lost during the late Common Slavic period.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 100-101, 229, 606-607, 613-614

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 153, 156-157, 606.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 225, 333, 633.

As a consequence of its loss, it is possible to state that the masc. -o-, -jo- and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns acquired the new acc. sing. case-endings during the late Common Slavic period.

The dental fricative -S, an indicator for the nom. sing. case of the -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns, was also lost in word-final position. Its disappearance, however, in contrast to the consonant -N in a similar position, was not phonetically conditioned. According to Shevelov, the consonant -S enjoyed a certain degree of optional usage, and was not an indispensable phoneme in final position. Words could have occurred with or without -S in final position.<sup>15</sup> However, with the development of prothetic consonants before initial vowels, the phoneme -S became superfluous, unmotivated, and could have been omitted. In addition, Shevelov contends that the disappearance of -S was probably connected with the loss of the dentals -T, -D and, to a certain degree, nasal -N. Since dental -S was chronologically the last of the series of consonants to be dropped in word-final position, it is possible to conclude that its loss was motivated by the trend set by the above dental consonants.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 228-229.

The loss of the dental fricative -S in the nom. sing. cases of the masc. -o-, -jo-, -u-stems and in the masc. and fem. -i-stems had several results. One common effect shared by the nom. cases of the above nouns was the absence of the nom. sing. case-ending -S, whose disappearance shortened the nom. cases by one phoneme. Furthermore, the thematic vowels of the respective stems assumed the role of case-endings.

With respect to the masc. sing. -o-stem nouns, the loss of -S yielded a nom. case with -o ending, which was the same as the nom. sing. case-ending of the neuter inanimate nouns. The identity of the nom. case in two different types of nouns -- animate and inanimate -- was not tolerated and, according to Shevelov,<sup>17</sup> the ending -ъ of the acc. case of the masc. -o-stems was transferred to the nom. case of the masc. animate -o-stem nouns. However, it is more reasonable to assume, as did Ja. Rudnyckyj on two occasions,<sup>18</sup> that the ending -ъ came from the nom. case of the -u-stems. This ending was already used as the nom. sing. case-ending in the -u-stem nouns, which were merging with the -o-stem nouns in their declensional systems.

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>18</sup>Ja. Rudnyckyj, Narys hramatyky staro-tserkovno-slov'janskoj movy (Munich: 1947), p. 23; He reiterated his view in an article "The Problem of Nom. sing. Endings of -o-stems in Slavic", which appeared in Dietrich Gerhardt et al. (eds.), Orbis Scriptus, Dmitrij Tschizëvskij zum 70. Geburtstag (Munich: Fink, 1966), pp. 655-658.

The loss of -S in the -jo-stem nouns changed the vowel -o- into -e-, which in turn reduced itself to -ъ and became a nom. case-ending. The dropping of -S in the nom. case of the -u-stems caused no phonetic changes, and the thematic vowel -u- assumed the role of the nom. sing. case-ending -ъ. After the loss of the consonant -S in the -i-stem nouns, the thematic vowel -i- remained as the nom. case-ending for the masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns.

The discussion concerning the loss of the fricative -S in word-final position, and its repercussions on the nom. sing. cases of the animate -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns can be summarized as follows:

-o-stem: nom. sing. \*vilk-o-S > \*vilk-o > \*vilku > OCS vlk-ъ;

-jo-stem: nom. sing. \*kon-jo-S > \*kon-jo > kon-jъ > OCS kon'-ъ;

-u-stem: nom. sing. \*sunuS > \*sunu > OCS syn-ъ;

-i-stem: nom. sing. masc. \*gost-i-S > \*gost-i > OCS gost-ъ;

-i-stem: nom. sing. fem. \*gōs-i-S > \*gōs-i > OCS gōs-ъ.

It is evident that the loss of the nom. sing. case-ending -S brought about a similar nom. ending -ъ in the masc. -o- and -u-stems and -ъ in the masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns.

In the above stem nouns, one can state that the nom. case-ending -S disappeared around the sixth century A.D. This is evidenced by Gothic loan words which lost final -S on Slavic soil.<sup>19</sup> The loss of -S occurred

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<sup>19</sup>Shevelov, op. cit., pp. 227-229, 333, 633.

prior to the appearance of the OCS texts.

In assessing the effects of the loss of the consonants -N and -S in the acc. and nom. cases, respectively, of the masc. sing. animate -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns, several observations concerning syntax and the animate-inanimate category are in order.

First, syntactically, the formal identity of the nom. and acc. cases, which were semantically and functionally different cases, made it difficult to discern subject and object relationship whenever both cases occurred in the same sentence. There was a likelihood of syntactical ambiguity due to the morphological similarity of the nom. and acc. cases. This tendency was reinforced by the fact that the Common Slavic language enjoyed a relatively free word order in its syntax.

Second, the identity of the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns made morphological distinction of subject and object cases impossible. The continued existence of the animate-inanimate category relied precariously on the voc. case of the animate nouns, which differed morphologically from that of animate nouns.

Third, since the animate and inanimate nouns had corresponding nom. and acc. cases, the animate nouns lacked the necessary morphological distinction in their nom. and acc. cases as an indispensable criterion for the existence of the animate-inanimate opposition.

Finally, since the problem revolved around the similarities of the nom. and acc. sing. cases of the animate nouns, its solution was to be found in the morphological differentiation between the nom. and acc. cases in order to restore syntactical clarity and the animate-inanimate category. This was achieved by the substitution process whereby the gen. case supplanted the old acc. case and functioned as acc. in the masc. sing. animate nouns.

### 3. The Rise of the Substitution Process as a Means to Re-establish the Animate-Inanimate Category

The identity of the nom. and acc. cases of the masc. sing. animate -o-, -jo-, -u- and masc. and fem. -i-stem nouns introduced a definite possibility of syntactical ambiguity with respect to the subject and object relationship. At the same time, the animate-inanimate category was undermined in the animate nouns. Therefore, the substitution phenomenon, as it appeared in the animate nouns, was motivated by several considerations.

First, in highly inflected languages like Common Slavic, the presence and retention of distinct nom. and acc. cases was of prime importance. This distinction was essential syntactically in order to avoid ambiguity with respect to subject and object relationship.

Second, phonetic and morphological dissimilarities in the nom. and acc. cases were indispensable criteria for the preservation of the animate-inanimate category as a grammatical device in the animate nouns.

Finally, the grammatical case which was best suited for the acc. function of precluding syntactical ambiguity and of upholding the animate-inanimate category was the gen. case. There were several reasons which favoured the selection of the gen. case over other cases in assuming the acc. function. Specifically, a number of functions performed by the gen. and acc. cases were closely related in the Common Slavic syntax.<sup>20</sup> For example, the gen. case was used as the object after transitive verbs denoting perception and similar notions. It is also used as the object after negative transitive verbs. In addition, the gen. case was used to express the partitive idea, as well as object governed by the supine form of the verb.

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<sup>20</sup>Franz Miklosich, Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen (Heidelberg: Winters, 1926), Vol. IV (Syntax), pp. 447-509; E. K. Tymchenko, Funktsii genitiva vb juzhnorusskoj jazykovej oblasti (Warsaw: Typografija Varshavskago Uchebnago Okruga, 1913), pp. 28, 43; Meillet, Recherches..., pp. 144, 156-163; Jerzy Kuryłowicz, The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European (Heidelberg: Winter, 1964), pp. 221-222; K. I. Khodova, Sistema padezhej staroslavjanskogo jazyka (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963), pp. 67-71.

Thus, on the basis of these functions, the gen. case acquired the gen.-acc. formula and was utilized as the vehicle eliminating syntactical ambivalence between the subject and object cases in the animate nouns. Similarly, the gen.-acc. case became a new and effective medium for the adequate expression and restoration of the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns.

Since the process of substitution involved a grammatical as well as a distinctly morphological case-form, the attendant circumstances of using the gen. acc. case could be interpreted either as a syntactical or a morphological problem. This possibility of a dichotomous explication of the problem was ruled out by Meillet, who clarified this point in the following words:

il s'agira d'un fait de syntaxe si l'on considère les formes substituées à des accusatifs comme conservant leur qualité de génitifs; si, au contraire, on tient vraga par exemple (dans Euch., 84a) pour un accusatif dont l'aspect seul est accidentellement identique à celui du génitif ordinaire vragă du mot vragŭ, le phénomène apparaît par là même, comme essentiellement morphologique.<sup>21</sup>

Hence, the problem was essentially morphological rather than syntactical and entailed the use of the gen.-acc. case which was only accidentally identical with the regular gen. case.

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<sup>21</sup>Meillet, Recherches..., p. 18.

With respect to the chronology regarding the beginning of the substitution process, it is impossible to establish with absolute certainty because there are no written records dating from the late Common Slavic period. However, according to Meillet, the substitution process appeared independently and simultaneously in all Slavic dialects when the Slavs constituted a more or less compact group in terms of language and geography.<sup>22</sup> In commenting further on this point, Meillet stated that ". . . le génitif-accusatif s'est développé en slave à une époque de peu antérieure à la composition des plus anciens textes".<sup>23</sup> The texts in question are the OCS monuments of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, which reveal the presence of the substitution phenomenon. Furthermore, Nekrasov maintained that these texts reflect the extent of the substitution process in the animate nouns and hence the status of the animate-inanimate category as expressed through the gen.-acc. formula in the late Common Slavic period.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 77-78.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>24</sup>N. P. Nekrasov, "O zaměnitel'nykh padezhakh: roditel'nomъ i vinitel'nomъ vъ sovremennomъ russkomъ jazykě", (Hereafter referred to as "O zaměnitel'nykh padezhakh: roditel'nomъ i vinitel'nomъ...," in the Izvēstija Otdělenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Naukъ, X (1905) Book II, pp. 38, 57. (Hereafter referred to as ICRJS).

Meillet, who examined the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the animate nouns in the OCS monuments, observed that the substitution process gradually affected various animate nouns. In this respect, the masc. sing. proper nouns, as well as adjectives and participles denoting persons and used as substantives, were chronologically first to acquire the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc.<sup>25</sup> The common sing. animate nouns referring to persons, and the sing. and plu. personal pronouns used in the objective function exhibited vacillation between the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases.<sup>26</sup> Other sing. and plu. animate nouns signifying children and animals were only slightly affected by the substitution phenomenon in the OCS monuments.<sup>27</sup>

The early<sup>28</sup> and middle<sup>29</sup> East Slavic texts,

<sup>25</sup>Meillet, Recherches..., pp. 15-17.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18, 59, 84, 97.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 35, 61-66.

<sup>28</sup>In this context, the term 'early' East Slavic refers to the literary monuments of the Kievan period which, generally speaking, covers the time from the middle of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century.

<sup>29</sup>The term 'middle', with respect to the East Slavic texts, refers to the Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian literary monuments of the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries.

representing the early stages of the Russian,<sup>30</sup> Belorussian<sup>31</sup> and Ukrainian<sup>32</sup> languages, reflect a continuity of the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns of various stems. Furthermore, it is evident that during the middle period the animate plu. nouns, especially those of the masc. gender, also began to utilize the gen.-acc. plu. case in place of the old acc. plu. case. Although the substitution phenomenon was much in evidence in the East Slavic texts, each Eastern Slavic language exhibited a number of variations with respect to the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in different animate nouns of both genders.

The Laurentian and the Hypatian Chronicles, which represent the best specimens of the annalistic literature, also reflect the substitution process, as well as the development of the animate-inanimate category, in various

<sup>30</sup>E. I. Kedajtene, "K voprosu o razvitii form roditel'nogo-vinitel'nogo padezha (na materijale vostochno-slavjanskikh jazykov)", in the Issledovanija po leksikologii i grammatike russkogo jazyka (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1961), pp. 185-193. (Hereafter referred to as "K voprosu o razvitii form...").

<sup>31</sup>P. F. Hlebka, M. G. Bulakhaŭ and M. A. Zhydovich, Narysy pa istoryi belaruskaj movy (Minsk: Dzjarzhavnae Vuchebna-Pedahahichnae Wydavetsva Ministerstva Asvety BSSR, (1957), pp. 94-95

<sup>32</sup>O. P. Bezpal'ko, Narysy z istorychnoho syntaksysu ukraïns'koï movy (Kiev: Radjans'ka Shkola, 1960), pp. 78-87.

sing. and plu. masc. and fem. animate nouns. This phenomenon will be analyzed in detail in the chapters which constitute the body of the dissertation.

In summing up the discussion concerning the origin of the problem -- the nature of the animate-inanimate category in the Indo-European system and its status in the late Common Slavic and early historical periods -- one can make several observations.

First, it is evident that the animate-inanimate category, as it functioned in the Indo-European system, depended on two groups of nouns - animate and inanimate. The former group included masc. and fem. nouns whose nom. and acc. sing. and plu. cases were dissimilar, while the latter group was comprised of sing. and plu. neuter nouns as well as nouns of the dual number. The nom. and acc. cases of these nouns were identical. Morphological identification of the two functionally different cases introduced syntactical ambiguity relative to the subject and object relationship in a language which used oblique cases for syntactical purposes. At the same time, the absence of the previous morphological distinction in the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns of the above stems deprived the animate-inanimate category of the means of expressing itself adequately.

Third, in its attempt to restore itself in the animate nouns, the animate-inanimate category maintained

its former principle of having morphologically different nom. and acc. cases as an indispensable medium for its expression. In order to introduce morphological dissimilarity between the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns, the gen. case as the most appropriate case for the objective function was adopted in place of the acc. case by the animate nouns.

Fourth, the utilization of the gen. case for the old acc. case gave rise to a substitution phenomenon. It was a process and a means which originated in the late Common Slavic period and continued in the historical period in various Slavic languages. As a gradual process, this substitution affected specific groups of animate nouns in chronological order, as evidenced by the material in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic languages. Generally speaking, the masc. sing. proper and common nouns denoting persons, which were most likely to appear in the subject and object function, acquired the gen.-acc. case first. These nouns were followed by the masc. and fem. plu. nouns. The last group of animate nouns to be affected by the substitution process included those referring to animals.

Finally, the restoration of the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns through the gen.-acc. case

-- a process which began in the late Common Slavic period and reflected itself in various Slavic historical languages  
-- attracted the attention of many scholars for several generations. Their findings and views concerning the origin and impetus of the substitution process will be discussed in chapter II of the dissertation.

## CHAPTER II

### PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND CRITIQUE

#### Introduction

As an intriguing phenomenon of Slavic linguistics, the process of substituting the gen. case for the old acc. has been discussed by scholars since the early part of the nineteenth century. Most researchers attempted to find a source, a point of departure, and an impetus for the substitution. Their endeavours to explain and interpret the problem have shed some light on the substitution process as well as on the development of the animate-inanimate category after the phonetic changes.

In order to view the important facets of the problem in a clearer perspective, a brief summary of previous research will be presented and evaluated. Because the scholars differed in their interpretations of the problem, their findings will be discussed under the headings peculiar to the nature of their respective explications.

1. Syntactical Considerations for the  
Appearance of the Gen.-Acc. in  
Place of the Old Acc. Case in  
the Masc. Sing. Nouns

In highly inflected languages like Slavic, (except modern Bulgarian and Macedonian, which have lost their declensional systems) syntactical relations of words in sentence are expressed, for the most part, by means of various case-endings. These endings represent a distinct phonetic sound, a morphological form, as well as one or more specific meanings in a given context.

As the nom. and acc. cases of the masc. sing. animate nouns of various stems became identical in the late Common Slavic period, the utilization of the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function evoked several hypotheses concerning the genesis of the substitution.

J. Dobrowský was probably the first scholar who noted the substitution phenomenon in the Slavic languages as early as the third decade of the nineteenth century. He observed that<sup>1</sup>:

In singulari quidem usus Genitivi Substantivorum masculinorum, cum eorum Accusativus a Nominativo non sit distinctus, in omnibus dialectis invaluit, ut is omnino pro vicario casu Accusativi in Syntaxi jure habeatur.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Josephi Dobrowský, Institutiones Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris, Quae Quum Apud Russos, Serbos Aliosque Ritus Graeci, Tum Apud Dalmatas Glagolitas kitus Latini Slavos in Libris Sacris Obtinet (Vienna: Schmid, 1822), Part III (Syntax) p. 616.

Thus, owing to the morphological similarity of the nom. and acc. cases in the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons, the gen. case was adopted for the acc. function in the Slavic languages. From the viewpoint of syntax, the gen.-acc. case was interpreted by Dobrowský as a substitute for the old acc. case. Beyond this statement concerning the use of the gen. case, Dobrowský made no further elaboration on the causes for the substitution phenomenon.

In the attempt to explain the use of the gen.-acc. case, Franz Miklosich rejected the view of M. Delbrück, who stated that this gen. case originated with <sup>the</sup>partitive gen. case. According to Miklosich, such an explanation was untenable because the partitive gen.<sup>2</sup> seldom appeared in the nouns denoting persons. The partitive gen. case was usually accompanied by prepositions.<sup>3</sup> Miklosich stated that the need to have an acc. case formally distinct from the nom. case brought about the use of the gen. case for the acc. function. At the same time, he noted that

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<sup>2</sup>B. Delbrück, Vergleichende Syntax der Indogermanischen Sprachen (Strassburg, Trübner, 1893), Part I, p. 320.

<sup>3</sup>Franz Miklosich, Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen (Heidelberg: Winter, 1926), Vol. IV (Syntax) p. 496.

in certain Romanic languages,<sup>4</sup> prepositions were used to denote the acc. case of proper nouns. Furthermore, he indicated that the use of the gen. case for the acc. function would appear less enigmatic if the following factors were taken into account: the use of the partitive gen. case, which was widespread in the past (he failed to specify in what languages); the means by which the proper foreign nouns were used to denote the direct object with prepositions; and also those nouns which appeared in apposition with the animate nouns.<sup>5</sup>

In the opinion of this writer, Miklosich was rightly skeptical about Delbrück's idea concerning the validity of the partitive gen. and its role in evoking the use of the gen. case for the acc. function with animate nouns. At the same time, Miklosich suggested that the problem should be investigated in conjunction with other factors found in the Romanic and Slavic languages, not so much

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<sup>4</sup>In all probability, Miklosich had in mind the Spanish and Rumanian languages which use prepositions "a" in the case of the former and "pre" in the case of the latter to denote the direct object of the animate nouns. See A. I. Thomson, "Къ вopосу о вoзникнoвeнии рoд.-вин. п. вѣ слaв. языкaхъ. Приглаголѣный рoд. п. вѣ прaслaв. языкѣ", in the JORJS, XIII (1908), Book III, pp. 73-74. (Hereafter referred to as "Къ вopосу о вoзникнoвeнии рoд.-вин...."); Marathon Montrose Ramsey, A Textbook of Modern Spanish (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), pp. 38, 39-40.

<sup>5</sup>Miklosich, loc. cit.

in order to find the solution, but rather to throw light on the nature of the substitution phenomenon in Slavic languages. Although the comparative approach had its merits, in retrospect, it was primarily the phonetic changes which brought about the identity of the nom. and acc. in the masc. sing. animate nouns during the late Common Slavic period. This similarity of cases, in turn, brought about the utilization of the gen. case which, in certain respects, was semantically and functionally related to the acc. case.

In brief, one can conclude that Miklosich failed to present a satisfactory explanation of the use of the gen. case in place of the old acc. case in the animate nouns.

A. Leskien also dealt with the problem of substitution, or the use of the gen. case in place of the old acc. case in Slavic languages. He observed that the relatively free word order in Slavic syntax and the morphological coalescence of the masc. sing. nom. and acc. cases of the masc. sing. animate nouns necessitated the adoption of the gen. case for the acc. function. His view concerning this phenomenon was expressed as follows:

Was für Gründe nun auch zusammengewirkt haben mögen, um gerade bei den belebten Masculinis die Vertretung des Accusative durch den Genitiv zu bewirken, als einen hauptsächlichsten wird man sich vorstellen müssen, dass gerade bei der im Slavischen ganz freien Wortstellung im Satze eine neue Scheidung von Subjects- und Objectscasus (die ja lautlich zusammengefallen

waren) bei jener Kategorie von Worten am meisten Bedürfniss war.<sup>6</sup>

Although Leskien specified the types of nouns that were involved in the substitution process and the syntactical consideration to have dissimilar nom. and acc. cases, he did not elaborate further on the problem of substitution in the Slavic languages.

The early scholars - Dobrowský, Miklosich and Leskien -- did not analyze the problem of substitution in depth; but they made a significant contribution in this area of Slavic linguistics by formulating general causes responsible in part for the utilization of the gen. case for the acc. in animate masc. sing. nouns. Among other relevant observations, these scholars stated that there was a need to differentiate syntactically the nom. and acc. cases, which were similar in the masc. sing. animate nouns. They suggested the existence of relationship in meaning between the acc. and the gen. cases. Finally, they affirmed the lack of other grammatical means to designate the direct object case of animate nouns except by case-endings.

In conclusion, one can state that the merit of the research of the above scholars lies in drawing attention

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<sup>6</sup>A. Leskien, Die Declination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1876), p. 62.

to the substitution phenomenon in the masc. sing. animate nouns in the Slavic languages, and in characterizing the problem in general terms rather than in presenting a satisfactory solution.

## 2. Pronominal Theory

The pronominal theory, advanced by A. Meillet, K. Mühlenbach, and W. Vondrák, represented a shift from syntactical to morphological considerations relating to the source and point of departure for the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns. Specifically, this theory was based on the assumption that the gen. and acc. sing. cases of the personal, reflexive and interrogative pronouns were originally identical. For each of the above scholar, specific pronouns served in their own manner as the basis and a model for the substitution process for the masc. sing. animate nouns.

Meillet rejected the syntactically motivated explanation of Dobrowský, Leskien, and Miklosich as inadequate. Instead, he stated that in order to explain the substitution process "... il faut pour cela trouver une forme d'un mot applicable à des personnes, qui soit à la fois génitif et accusatif et puisse par là provoquer une confusion des deux cas."<sup>7</sup> Such a confusion of forms,

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<sup>7</sup>Meillet, Recherches..., p. 81.

according to Meillet, occurred in the personal pronouns of both singular and plural numbers, as well as in the reflexive pronoun, which was used only in the singular for all three persons. The accusative case in the above pronouns was represented by two forms; the unstressed MJA, TJA, and SJA and the stressed MENE, TEBE, and SEBE. In his earlier opinion, Meillet regarded the above forms as both acc. and gen. Hence, this identity of forms in two different cases was a source of confusion with respect to usage.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the plural case-forms of the first and second persons were also represented by two forms - MY and VY, as unstressed, and NASЪ and VASЪ, as stressed. Since the latter forms were identical with the regular gen. forms, they caused confusion with respect to usage. Having established the existence of identical case-forms in the gen. and acc. cases in the sing. and plu. personal pronouns, as well as the indiscriminate use of these cases, Meillet concluded that "... on aura ici le meilleur des points de départ pour rendre compte du génitif-accusatif dans les démonstratif et dans les noms...."<sup>9</sup>

Meillet also indicated that the regular gen. forms JEGO, SEGO, and KOGO of the demonstrative and personal interrogative pronouns were used in the emphatic function.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 84, 88, 91.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

In the latter function, they appeared as a result of analogy from the personal pronouns.<sup>10</sup> In order to establish a direct link in the process of substitution between the personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns and animate nouns, Meillet maintained that, since the above pronouns referred to nouns denoting persons, it was natural that the substitution should also embrace the nouns denoting persons. This was accomplished, in Meillet's opinion, by morphological analogy.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, Meillet maintained that masc. sing. pronominal adjectives had a still greater influence on the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns. In the gen. sing. case, for example, these adjectives consisted of NOVA-JEGO, where the -JEGO of the demonstrative pronoun was regarded as gen.-acc. case. He also observed that since the form NOVA- was still considered as a distinct word, the use of NOVA-EGO in the acc. capacity made it possible and natural for the NOVA- to be regarded as acc. As the declensional pattern of the adjectives and nouns was similar, this gave rise "d'une manière plus générale l'accusatif en -A, identique au génitif, des thèmes masculins en -o-."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 117-118.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 137.

One can state that Meillet's explanation of the substitution phenomenon includes three considerations: First, he posited that the gen. and acc. case-forms of the personal and reflexive pronouns were originally identical. Second, he assumed that the use of the emphatic sing. acc. case-forms of the above pronouns, which were the same as the gen. case-form, gave rise to the gen.-acc. formula. Finally, Meillet contended that the appearance of the identical gen. and acc. case-forms in the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, combined with the declinable parts of the pronominal adjectives, provided the final step for the extension of the substitution process into the masc. sing. animate nouns. The substitution process, both in the case of pronouns and nouns, was affected by the morphological analogy.

Meillet's theory demonstrated one serious weakness: the assumption that the forms MENE, TEBE, SEBE, and NASъ, and VASъ were both gen. and emphatic acc. cases,<sup>13</sup> while MJA, TJA, SJA and NY, VY were unstressed acc. forms or enclitics. In reality, the short forms of both sing. and plu. numbers were originally acc. and functioned in the

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 85, 97.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 84, 96.

emphatic capacity.<sup>15</sup> There was neither confusion with respect to the usage of these forms nor any urgency to replace them by the respective gen. forms. The OCS texts reveal, and Meillet himself asserted, that the short forms of the above pronouns predominated over the gen.-acc. cases in the acc. function.<sup>16</sup>

In view of this shortcoming in Meillet's theory, one cannot accept his premise and conclusion that the personal pronouns provided the source and a point of departure for the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns.

K. Mühlénbach, like Meillet, also maintained that MENE, TEBE, and SEBE were regular gen., as well as emphatic

<sup>15</sup>It should be stated that throughout his study, Recherches ..., Meillet assumed erroneously that MJA, TJA and SJA were enclitics rather than emphatic acc. forms. With the appearance of Zubatý's review of Vergleichende slavische Grammatik, Vol. II. Formenlehre und Syntax (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1908) by W. Vondrak in the Rocznik slawistyczny, II (1909), 1-12, Meillet accepted the view that the above forms were emphatic acc. For further literature on this question see: M. A. Gadolina, Istorija form lichnykh i vozvratnogo mestoimenij v slavjanskikh jazykakh (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963), pp. 39-40.

<sup>16</sup>Meillet, Recherches..., p. 84, 97; Le slave commun, pp. 395-396.

acc. forms.<sup>17</sup> This similarity of the gen. and acc. case-forms in the personal and reflexive pronouns of the sing. number according to Mühlenbach," ... sluzhili ... zarodishemъ upotreblenija roditel'nago vměsto vinitel'nago vъ imenakhъ muzheskago roda, oznachajushchikhъ odushevl'ennye sushchestva."<sup>18</sup> In other words, Mühlenbach proposed the view that the gen.-acc. case-form appeared in the masc. sing. animate nouns by analogy from the identical gen. and acc. case-forms as found in the personal pronouns. In the case of forms like JEGO, TOGO, SEGO and KOGO, they likewise appeared by analogy from the MENE, TEBE and SEBE forms of the personal reflexive pronouns. They did not have any intermediary role in bringing about the substitution in the animate sing. masc. nouns.<sup>19</sup>

According to Mühlenbach, the gen.-acc. case appeared first in the masc. sing. animate nouns because the nom. and acc. cases of these nouns were alike and,

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<sup>17</sup>K. Mühlenbach, "Obъ upotreblenii roditel'nago padezha vměsto vinitel'nago vъ slavjanskikhъ jazykakhъ" in the IORJS, IV (1899, Book IV, 1202, 1208, 1213. In a post-scriptum to the above article, Mühlenbach stated that he arrived independently at a similar conclusion regarding the origin of the substitution process as Meillet (pp. 1213-1217).

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 1208.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 1209

also, because MENE, TEBE, and SEBE forms were of the sing. number. He observed, that since personal pronouns are more closely related to nouns denoting persons than to any other nouns, they could have influenced the substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. case. Mühlénbach contended that the use of proper nouns in the appositive function with personal pronouns could have brought about the appearance of the gen.-acc. case in nouns referring to persons.<sup>20</sup>

Mühlénbach's explanation of the origin of the substitution process in the animate sing. masc. nouns differs slightly from that of Meillet. Mühlénbach contended, as he himself indicated in a post-scriptum to his article, that the gen.-acc. forms MENE, TEBE, and SEBE were directly responsible for the appearance of the gen. case in place of the old acc. case of animate nouns.<sup>21</sup> Meillet, however, maintained that demonstrative pronouns and pronominal adjectives served as intermediaries in effecting a substitution process in the animate nouns. Unlike Meillet, Mühlénbach did not take into account the role of the plu. pronouns NY, VY and NASЪ, VASЪ in the substitution process. Finally, both Mühlénbach and Meillet

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 1209-1210.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 1217.

overlooked the fact that MJA, TJA, and SJA were used as acc. cases in emphatic positions. For the above reasons, Mühlenbach's view of the origin of the substitution process cannot be accepted as a satisfactory one.

W. Vondrák also advanced the pronominal theory, but he accepted the personal interrogative pronoun as the key word which constituted the point of departure and provided the motivating force for the substitution process. In the formulation of his hypothesis, Vondrák rejected Meillet's and Mühlenbach's views that MENE, TEBE, and SEBE forms were originally emphatic acc. case-forms. According to Vondrak, these forms were exclusively gen. and, consequently, there was no confusion between the gen. and the acc. MJA, TJA, and SJA forms. Personal pronouns could not have provided the source for the substitution process in the masculine singular animate nouns. In rejecting the role of personal pronouns, Vondrák suggested that the origin of the substitution process should be sought in the personal interrogative pronoun KЪТО, whose genitive and accusative forms were always identical: KOGO.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>W. Vondrák, "Einige Bemerkungen zu Meillet's 'Recherches sur l'emploi du genitif-accusatif en vieux-slave'", Archiv für slavische Philologie, XX (1898), 328. (Hereafter referred to as "Einige Bemerkungen..."; Alt-kirchenslavische Grammatik (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1900), p. 153, 180-181, 282-284.

Because of this identity in the gen. and acc. cases, and its use in reference to persons, the form KOGO evoked analogical gen.-acc. case-forms in several categories of words. These included the personal and demonstrative pronouns, the pronominal adjectives used substantively, and the masculine singular o-stem nouns denoting persons. In all these words the substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. was accomplished by syntactical analogy.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, according to Vondrák, the replacement process was greatly enhanced by the fact that the gen. and acc. cases as complements are closely related in meaning.

Although Vondrák's explanation regarding the role of the personal interrogative pronoun КѢТО in the process of substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. case seems plausible, yet, according to A. I. Thomson, the efficacy of KOGO is highly improbable. His remarks on this point are as follows:

neponjatno kakъ odno KOGO moglo povlechъ  
za soboju drugija městoimenija, témъ bolěe,  
čto vъ lichnykhъ městoimenijakhъ ne bylo  
nadobnosti vъ rod.-vin., takъ kakъ ikhъ  
starye vinitelъnye MJA, TJA, SJA i pr. otli-  
čalisъ formalъno otъ imenitelъnykhъ.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Vondrák, "Einige Bemerkungen...", pp. 328, 330.

<sup>24</sup>Thomson, "Roditelъnyj-vinitelъnyj padezhъ pri nazvanijakhъ zhivykhъ sushchestvъ vъ slavjanskikhъ jazykakhъ", in the ICRJS, XIII (1908), Book II, 235. (Hereafter referred to as "Roditelъnyj-vinitelъnyj padezhъ...",").

This significant observation appears to minimize the role and influence of KOGO in bringing about the substitution in the above mentioned categories of words. In the opinion of this writer, the KOGO form, identical in the gen. and acc. cases, could have facilitated the appearance of the gen.-acc. case, primarily in the demonstrative pronouns and substantivized adjectives which had morphologically the same case-endings, -OGO.

From a brief description of the pronominal theory, which was based on the presumed identity of the gen. and acc. cases of the personal and interrogative pronouns as propounded by Meillet, Mühlenbach and Vondrák, it is evident that none of these scholars offered a convincing explanation of the substitution process.

### 3. Nominal Theory

In contrast to the pronominal theory, where the pronouns played the determining role in the explanation of the substitution process, the nominal theory emphasized the importance of nouns which appeared in the gen. case as complements after the negative verbs. Three different views, which revolved around the nature and function of the gen. case, were advanced by the following scholars.

M. Delbrück stated categorically that the old acc. case of the masc. sing. animate nouns was replaced by the partitive gen. case. In his opinion, the nouns in the acc. case indicated a greater degree

of subordination to the action of the verb than the nouns in the gen. case:

Der Genitiv zeigt gegen diesen Akkusativengebrauch einen deutlich empfundenen Gegensatz. So treten denn in ihn solche Wesen welche der vollen Bewältigung sich am unzugänglichsten erweisen, sozusagen die persönlichsten von allen: männliche Personen. Dass ursprünglich nur der Singular von dieser Konstruktion betroffen wird, hat wohl seinen Grund darin, dass in ihr hauptsächlich Eigennamen auftraten. Im Sprachgefühl übrigens erschien offenbar schon früh dieser Genitiv nur als eine andere Form des Akkusativs, wie daraus hervorgeht, dass er auch nach Präpositionen angewendet wurde.<sup>25</sup>

This explanation for the appearance of the gen. case in place of the old acc. was rejected by Mühlenbach and Meillet.

Mühlenbach disagreed with Delbrück's exposition on the basis that, if the gen. case affected only partly the nouns denoting persons, then the masc. sing. -a- and -ja-stem nouns should have also appeared in the gen. case after transitive verbs. Since there are no examples of such use, Delbrück's hypothesis is invalid.<sup>26</sup>

Meillet, for his part, indicated that the use of the partitive gen. case in the acc. function was a rare phenomenon in the Indo-European languages.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Delbrück, op. cit., pp. 320-321.

<sup>26</sup>Mühlenbach, "Объ употреблении родительного падежа...", pp. 1198-1199.

<sup>27</sup>Meillet, Recherches..., p. 81.

On the basis of the objections raised by Mühlenbach and Meillet one can state that Delbrück's explanation, involving the use of the partitive gen. case in place of the old acc. in the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons, falls short of its goal.

Another exponent of the nominal theory was Erich Berneker. He stated that the gen.-acc. case of the masc. sing. animate nouns came from the gen. case, which was used as object after negative transitive verbs.<sup>28</sup> He contended that in Slavic it is possible to express the object either by the gen. case after negative verbs or by the acc. case after positive verbs.<sup>29</sup> Since the gen. and the acc. cases were used as complements, they were functionally synonymous. In view of this similarity of function in the two cases, the adoption of the gen. case for the acc. function occurred whenever the subject and object were expressed by the animate nouns. The failure to have distinct nom. and acc. cases in order to indicate the subject and object would have resulted in syntactical ambiguity. Replacing the old acc. case with the gen., which also functioned as a complement after a negative verb, brought about morphological differentiation

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<sup>28</sup>Erich Berneker, "Der Genetif (sic)-Accusatif bei belebten Wesen im Slavischen," in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, XXXVII (1904), 375.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

in these cases. Thus syntactical ambivalence was eliminated.<sup>30</sup> The choice of the gen. case, which appeared originally after negative verbs and its use for the objective function after a positive verb, was facilitated by syntactical analogy, according to Berneker.

Berneker's attempt to explain the origin of the substitution process as stemming from the synonymous function of the gen. case after negative verbs and the acc. case after positive verbs was rejected by A. I. Thomson. He pointed out that Berneker's assumption could not be substantiated by the facts as found in the language. If the negative-gen. and positive-acc. cases were formally alike with respect to their function and meaning, then, the gen.-acc. case should have spread, at least partially, to fem. sing. nouns and plu. nouns, as well as to the inanimate nouns. Since there is no evidence of such a phenomenon, it would appear that the negative-gen. and positive-acc. cases are functionally and semantically different.<sup>31</sup> Finally, Thomson delineated the functional difference between the two cases in the following words:

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 376.

<sup>31</sup>Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezhъ...", p. 236.

Дело въ томъ, что такой отърицательный глаголъ обозначаетъ абстрактное дѣйствіе и служитъ лишь для указанія на условія, вытекающія изъ отсутствія даннаго дѣйствія. Самаго дѣйствія нѣтъ, а объектъ указываетъ лишь на направленіе фиктивнаго дѣйствія. Для обозначенія такого отношенія подходитъ именно род., не вин. п.<sup>32</sup>

Agreeing with Thomson's observation, one can conclude that Berneker failed to provide a convincing explanation concerning the origin of the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns.

N. P. Nekrasov, another exponent of the nominal theory, asserted that the old acc. case was replaced by the partitive gen. case or by the gen. case denoting quantity under the following circumstances:

... такъ какъ собственное имя лица не есть само лицо, а есть обособляющій признакъ, опредѣленіе лица, подразумеваемаго въ рѣчи, какъ прѣмое дополненіе, или какъ предметъ дѣйствія; то языкъ для отличія зависимости въ рѣчи собственнаго имени на -ъ лица муж. пола въ качествѣ прѣмого дополненія отъ независимости ego, въ качествѣ подлежащаго, за неимѣніемъ отличительной формы винит. падежа ed. ch. отъ именительнаго въ именakhъ на -ъ, и воспользовался формою родительнаго падежа ed. ch. для выразенія прѣмого дополненія, какъ такою формою, которую обыкновенно выражається обособленіе, опредѣленіе, исключеніе предмета изъ ряда другихъ однородныхъ предметовъ.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Thomson, "Къ вопросу о возникновеніи род.-вин...", p. 299.

<sup>33</sup>Nekrasov, "О замѣнительныхъ падежахъ: родительномъ и винительномъ...", p. 58.

He amplified by stating that the gen.-acc. case appeared in the masc. sing. proper nouns as a result of its 'defining' function as in the case of the expressions: "dat' khlěba, vody, soli"; "kupit' chaju, sakharu, bumagi", etc.<sup>34</sup> In these expressions, the gen. case "zastavljaet' podrazuměvat' kakuju libo chast', kakoe libo kolichestvo i t. p., kak' něčto opreděljaemoe imenem, postavlennym v' roditel'nom' padezhě" with the acc. meaning. Similarly, the expression "Ja znaju Petra" meant originally "Ja znaju (lichnost') Petra". With the passage of time, all that was implied - "éto 'něčto', ili vs' to, čto podrazuměvalos'"<sup>35</sup> -- disappeared from the people's consciousness and the gen. case with the objective meaning became the usual and indispensable form for distinguishing the subject and object in the masc. proper nouns. From the proper nouns, the use of the gen. case was extended to common masc. sing. animate nouns denoting persons wherever they were used in the appositive function with the proper nouns. With the omission of the proper nouns, the appositive common nouns appearing in the gen. case were then regarded as functionally acc. cases. Finally, the use of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

acc. spread from the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons to other masc. sing. animate nouns.

Nekrasov's hypothesis concerning the use of gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. in the masc. sing. animate nouns was reviewed by A. I. Thomson. His criticism was levelled at the assumption that the gen.-acc. case was of the partitive gen. origin. In his opinion, the partitive gen. function applied to the inanimate nouns which denote objects, especially divisible matter, rather than persons.<sup>36</sup>

Since this writer concurs with Thomson's assessment of the partitive gen. theory regarding the origin of the gen.-acc. case in the masc. sing. animate nouns, it seems appropriate to conclude that Nekrasov failed to present a satisfactory explanation for the appearance of the substitution process.

E. K. Tymchenko contended that the gen.-acc. case came from the gen. case which was governed by the positive rather than ~~the~~ negative verb. He based his view on the probability that verbs like 'zhdaty', 'iskaty', 'videty', 'sprashivaty', et cetera, governed the gen. case of the masc.

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<sup>36</sup>Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezhъ...", pp. 240-243; "Popravki i razъjasnenija kъ statъě N.P. Nekrasova", in the IORJS, XV (1910), Book II, 78-79; "Kъ voprosu o vzniknovenii rod.-vin. . . .", pp. 299-300.

nouns denoting persons during the late Common Slavic period, when the nom. and acc. cases of these nouns were identical.<sup>37</sup>

Assuming correctly that there was a need to differentiate the subject and object cases in the animate nouns denoting persons, Tymchenko characterized the specific psychological moment when and how this phenomenon occurred in the following words:

... вѣ известныхъ сочетаніяхъ формы родительнаго и винительнаго должны были представлѣтсѣя сознанію безразличными, т.-е. родительный по формѣ - функціонально тождественнымъ винительному, только въ такомъ случаѣ возможна была замѣна одной формы посредствомъ другой, если послѣдняя по чѣму-нибудь казалась удобнѣе говорѣашему.<sup>38</sup>

This statement implies that the functions of the gen. and acc. cases in a given circumstance are semantically similar or the difference between them is psychologically imperceptible. For this reason, Tymchenko concludes that the use of the gen. case for the less appropriate old acc. case provided the basis and the impetus for the substitution process in the animate nouns.<sup>39</sup>

Tymchenko's hypothesis regarding the source of the substitution process seems to be the most probable of the theories thus far discussed. Two positive

<sup>37</sup>Tymchenko, op. cit., p. 256.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 257

factors can be mentioned in support of his theory.

First, the assumption that the gen. case after certain positive verbs constituted the point of departure for the substitution process was correct. In this particular function, the gen. case was closely related semantically to the acc. case. Both cases -- gen. and acc. -- appeared as complements after positive verbs and, therefore, the discrepancy of function between the two cases was minimal. Besides, the use of the gen. or the acc. case after certain verbs facilitated the adoption of the gen. case for the old acc. case without contradicting the nature of the two cases.

Second, the relevancy of Tymchenko's elucidation lies in the fact that the use of the gen. case in place of the old acc. in the animate nouns came directly from the animate nouns themselves. In other words, it was the animate nouns which experienced the need of a distinct acc. case and, at the same time, supplied the gen. case which was functionally synonymous with the acc. case. For this reason, as Tymchenko himself indicated,<sup>40</sup> it was unnecessary to resort to personal pronouns or analogies from other categories of words for the explanation of the substitution process.

The weakness of Tymchenko's theory lies in the fact that he failed to substantiate his contention further

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

by indicating the types of verbs which govern primarily the gen. case and those which may take equally the gen. and the acc. cases.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4. Semasiological Theory

Having examined the hypotheses of A. Meillet, K. Mühlénbach, Erich Berneker and N. P. Nekrasov, A. I. Thomson concluded that the source and point of departure for the substitution process must be sought in the semasiological sphere of the language.<sup>42</sup> His theory took into account the nature of the Agens (Subject) and Patiens (Object), their relationship, and the semantic differences between the active and passive voice constructions.<sup>43</sup>

In Thomson's opinion, the gen.-acc. case in the animate nouns appeared whenever the Patiens, expressed

<sup>41</sup>J. Kuryłowicz distinguishes at least four groups of verbs which govern the gen. case, namely: 1. verbs of perception; 2. verbs meaning "to reign, rule, dispose of"; 3. verbs like "to eat, drink, enjoy"; 4. "to give, take" and other semantically related verbs. See his: The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European (Heidelberg: Winter, 1964), p. 184; Khodova, op. cit., pp. 59-70 presents numerous examples of the verbs which govern the gen. and acc. cases in the OCS texts: Cf. also A.I. Sobolevskij, Lektsii po istorii russkogo jazyka, (4th ed., 1907; Photomechanic reprint 'S Gravenhage: Mouton, 1962), pp. 198-200; Ja. A. Sprinchak. Ocherk russkogo istoricheskogo sintaksisa (Prostoe predlozhenie) (Kiev: Radjans'ka Shkola, 1960), pp. 132-133.

<sup>42</sup>Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezhъ...", p.245.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., pp. 248-250, 252.

by the old acc. case, strived to become the "psychological subject" and take the place of the Agens. In order to accommodate the Patiens as "psychological subject", passive constructions were used in which the Patiens occurred in the nom. case. Thomson illustrated this phenomenon by converting the sentence "Ivanъ uznalъ Petra" to "Petrъ bylъ uznanъ Ivanomъ". However, since the passive constructions were inadequate, because all meaning was concentrated on the effect, or result, of the action on the Patiens rather than on the Agens, the gen.-acc. was used "kakъ formy, ottesnjajushchej psikhologicheskij subjektъ vъ polozenie Patiens'a".<sup>44</sup>

In Thomson's words, the gen.-acc. case appeared under the following circumstances:

Vъ tѣkhъ sluchajakhъ, kogda Pat. stremilsja statъ podlehashchimъ i takimъ obrazomъ sdѣlalsja by Ag., i kogda stradatelъnoe sprjazhenie ne udovletvorjalo govorjashchago, ostavalosъ tolъko odno sredstvo - ottēsnitъ vsplyvajushchee psikhicheskoe podleashchee vъ polozenie dopolnenija, vъ nadlehashchee mѣsto Pat., i dlja этogo trebovalsja osobyj vin. p.<sup>45</sup>

The words which represented the "psychological subject," and demanded a special acc. case, were those with definite meanings. These included the masc. proper nouns, demonstrative pronouns referring to persons, substantivized adjectives, personal pronouns, and the masc. sing. common nouns

<sup>44</sup>Ibid. p. 249.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

denoting persons.<sup>46</sup>

In conclusion, Thomson stated that differentiation in the nom. and acc. cases was imperative in the animate nouns denoting persons whenever they appeared as Agens and Patiens in the same sentence.<sup>47</sup>

Thomson's hypothesis, involving the retention of the "psychological subject" in the Patiens capacity at the time when the passive constructions were inadequate, is not convincing to this researcher for two reasons. First, it is difficult to comprehend why nouns, appearing as Patiens, would strive to become "psychological subjects" and be placed in the nom. case. This phenomenon Thomson failed to explain. Second, it is equally difficult to accept the supposition that the inadequacy of the passive constructions provided the necessary impetus for the adoption of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. case. Both constructions -- passive and active -- are used on their own merit to convey specific meaning. To assign the motivational role to the passive construction seems unfounded, since the problem involved differentiation in the nom. and acc. cases of the animate nouns. In view of these objections, Thomson's exposition cannot be accepted as convincing.

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp. 245, 249, 252-255; "Къ вопросу о возникновении род.-вин...", p. 302.

<sup>47</sup>Thomson, "Родительный-винительный падежь...", p. 259.

5. Theory of syntactical-morphological differentiation of case functions

During the past two decades, two Soviet scholars, L. P. Jakubinskij and P. S. Kuznetsov, discussed the problem regarding the origin of the substitution process in the animate masc. sing. nouns in a cursory way. They acknowledge, in part, the validity of views as expressed by such scholars as A. Meillet,<sup>48</sup> W. Vondrák,<sup>49</sup> M. Delbrück,<sup>50</sup> and A. I. Thomson<sup>51</sup> and, at the same time, proposed their own hypotheses.

Both scholars, Jakubinskij and Kuznetsov, presented similar theories, in which they maintained that the origin of the substitution process stemmed from the differentiation of functions as they are expressed by one given case.

<sup>48</sup>P. S. Kuznetsov, Istoricheskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka: Morfologija (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1953), pp. 117-118, 120; (Hereafter referred to as Istoricheskaja grammatika...); Očerki istoričeskoj morfologii russkogo jazyka (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1959), pp. 92, 94-96. (Hereafter referred to as Očerki istoričeskoj morfologii...).

<sup>49</sup>L. P. Jakubinskij, Istorija drevnerusskogo jazyka (Moscow: Učpedgiz, 1953), pp. 182-183; Kuznetsov, Istoricheskaja grammatika..., p. 117; Očerki istoričeskoj morfologii..., p. 93.

<sup>50</sup>Kuznetsov, Istoricheskaja grammatika..., p. 118; Očerki istoričeskoj morfologii..., p. 94.

<sup>51</sup>Kuznetsov, Očerki istoričeskoj morfologii..., loc. cit.

Jakubinskij characterized his point of view in the following words:

Pervonachal'no rod.-vin. vystupaet kak s i n -  
t a k s i c h e s k a j a forma vyrazhenija  
objekta v zavisimosti ot kontekstnykh uslovij.  
V dal'snejšem on m o r f o l o g i z u e t s j a ,  
stanovjas' p a d e z h n y m o k o n c h a -  
n i e m o p r e d e l e n n o g o t i p a  
s l o v v n e vsjakoj zavisimosti ot konteksta  
(v knontse kontsov, slov-nazvanij odushevlénnykh  
predmetov).<sup>52</sup>

In presenting his opinion on the subject, Kuznetsov repeated almost verbatim Jakubinskij's view. He stated:

V razvitii roditel'nogo-vinitel'nogo padezha pro-  
javljaetsja odin iz novykh morfologicheskikh pro-  
tssessov, imejushchikh mesto v istorii jazyka, imenno -  
javlenie differentsiatsii, sostojashchee v tom,  
chto razlichnye sintaksicheskie otnoshenija, vy-  
razhajushchiesja pervonachal'no s morfologicheskoi  
tochki zrenija nedifferentsirujutsja morfologicheski,  
nachinaja vyrazhat'sja razlichnymi morfologicheskimi  
sredstvami, razlichnymi formami slova.<sup>53</sup>

Both authors presented a retrospective abstraction of what had happened on the level of syntax and morphology, but failed to substantiate the syntactical and morphological differentiations by pertinent facts from the language. In addition, the modus operandi of this differentiation is not clarified precisely and, therefore, Jakubinskij's

<sup>52</sup>Jakubinskij, op. cit., pp. 184-185.

<sup>53</sup>Kuznetsov, Ocherki istoricheskoi morfologii..., p. 93.

and Kuznetsov's hypotheses are unacceptable as plausible explanations for the substitution process.

Although the statements of Jakubinskij and Kuznetsov shed little light on the origin of the substitution process, Kuznetsov asserted that the use of the gen. case for old acc. occurred first " ... lish u sobstvennykh imen ljudej i u nazvanij lits (t. e. ljudej), i pritom obshchestvenno polnopravnykh".<sup>54</sup> Kuznetsov meant that the substitution affected first those nouns which denoted persons who enjoyed full social and juridical rights in society. Nouns signifying persons who lacked such privileges retained the old acc. case in the objective function. In other words, Kuznetsov assumed that the grammatical structures of the language can at times reflect social relations in a given society.

The contention of Kuznetsov was criticized by E. I. Kedajtene<sup>55</sup> and T. P. Lomtev.<sup>56</sup> Disagreeing

<sup>54</sup>Kuznetsov, Istoricheskaja grammatika..., p. 118

<sup>55</sup>E. I. Kedajtene, "Iz nabljudenij nad kategoriej litsa v pamjatnikakh russkogo jazyka starshej pory", in Voprosy Jazykoznanija, IV (1955), No. 1, p. 124. (Hereafter referred to as "Iz nabljudenij nad kategoriej litsa....").

<sup>56</sup>T. P. Lomtev, review of Istoricheskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka; Morfologija, by P. S. Kuznetsov (Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, Moscow, 1953, 307 p.), in Voprosy Jazykoznanija, III (1954), No. 5, p. 143.

vehemently with Kuznetsov's view, Kedajtene stated that there is no connection between the history of the social relationships of the people and the appearance of the gen.-acc. case in the nouns denoting persons with social rights. The tenor of her refutation read as follows:

Iskhodja iz marksistkogo uchenija o jazyke, nel'zja svjazyvat' pojavlenie formy roditel'nogo padezha v značenii vinitel'nogo i sokhranenie formy vinitel'nogo padezha ravnoj imenitel'nomu v russkom jazyke s sotsial'noj biografij naroda - nositelja éтого jazyka. Obsheprinjataja tochka zrenija o pojavlenii roditel'nogo-vinitel'nogo prezhde vsego u sushchestvitel'nykh, oboznachajushchikh lits sotsial'no polnopravnykh, ne imeet pod soboj osnovanij i javljaetsja po sushchestvu vul'garno-sotsiologicheskoj.<sup>57</sup>

In support of her argument, Kedajtene examined the substitution phenomenon in the early and middle East Slavic texts<sup>58</sup> and concluded that the gen.-acc. case appeared;

... ne tol'ko u sushchestvitel'nykh oboznachajushchikh sotsial'no polnopravnykh lits, no i u suschestvitel'nykh, oboznachajushchikh sotsial'no nepolnopravnykh lits.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Kedajtene, "Iz nabljudenij nad kategoriej litsa...", p. 128.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp. 124-128; "Razvitie form roditel'nogo-vinitel'nogo padezha i upotreblenie starykh form vinitel'nogo ot nazvanij lits i odushevlennykh predmetov v drevnerusskom jazyke (Na materiale pamjatnikov XII-XIV vv.); in Vilniaus Valst. V. Kapsuko v. Universiteto IFP Mosklo Darbai, III (1957), pp. 139-170. (Hereafter referred to as "Razvitie form roditel'nogo-vinitel'nogo padezha...",).

<sup>59</sup> Kedajtene, "Iz nabljudenij nad kategorij litsa...", p. 128.

After reviewing Kuznetsov's book, Lomtev also rejected the view that the substitution process affected first the nouns denoting persons with social standing. He referred to Kuznetsov's theory as an example of "neobosnovannaja sotsiologizatsija".<sup>60</sup>

Kuznetsov's claim that the substitution process in the masc. sing. animate nouns denoting persons was regulated by the social considerations can be dismissed as unfounded for two reasons. First, the author himself failed to establish the criterion and the procedure according to which the nouns denoting persons of various classes were affected by the substitution phenomenon. Second, Kedajtene, who researched the substitution process in the early East Slavic texts, challenged Kuznetsov's assertions on the grounds that it was baseless and erroneous. In view of these objections, one cannot accept Kuznetsov's sociologically oriented view as a convincing explanation of the substitution process.

From the above discussion and evaluation of earlier research of the substitution process, one can draw three conclusions.

First, all scholars agreed that the identification of the nom. and acc. cases of the masc. sing. animate nouns gave rise to the substitution process in order

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<sup>60</sup>Lomtev, op. cit., p. 144.

to show morphological dissimilarity between the two semantically different cases.

Second, all scholars also maintained that the gen. case was the most appropriate case for the acc. function, because both cases are related in their meanings and usage.

Finally, scholars differed in their findings and interpretations concerning the fundamental question: what specific lexical category -- pronouns or nouns -- provided the source and the necessary impetus for the substitution process. As a result, they advanced several divergent hypotheses, including the syntactical considerations, pronominal and nominal theories, semasiological view, and the supposition of syntactical and morphological differentiation.

## CHAPTER III

### ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE PROPER MASC. SING. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING PERSONS

#### Introduction

As a consequence of the loss of the consonants -S and -N in the word-final position in the late Common Slavic period, the nom. and acc. cases of the proper masc. sing. nouns denoting persons became identical. Since these nouns were used primarily as subject and object, it was necessary to have different nom. and acc. case-endings in order to avoid syntactical ambiguity. More important, the distinction between the two functionally different cases was vital for the preservation of the animate-inanimate category in the proper nouns. It was provided by the substitution process, whereby the gen. case was adopted for the acc. function in place of the old acc. case.

In this chapter, a brief survey of the substitution process in the proper nouns in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments will be presented. This will be followed by an examination of the same phenomenon in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles in order to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the proper masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.

1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. Proper Nouns Denoting Persons in the OCS, early and Middle East Slavic Texts

The OCS texts reveal that the animate-inanimate category was represented by the gen.-acc. case in the proper masc. sing. nouns denoting persons. Some random examples of this case in the proper nouns may be cited as follows:

i pridŏ podvigъshe se i obrětŏ Marijŏ zhe  
i OSIFA i mladъnъtsъ lezheshť vъ  
jaslekhъ;<sup>1</sup> tou bŏdetъ plachъ i° skrbъzhъtъ  
zŏbomъ. ěgda ouzъbrite AVRAMA ISAKA i JAKOVA.  
i vsę pŕŏ vѣtŕtvi. Bzhii;<sup>2</sup> zhidove KĦA  
kamenъemъ pobivaakhŏ.<sup>3</sup>

These examples indicate that the gen.-acc. case, rather than the old acc. case, was regarded as the norm for the acc. function in the proper masc. sing. nouns. This leads one to the conclusion that the substitution process was accomplished in the proper nouns, and that the animate-inanimate category was expressed through the distinct nom. and gen.-acc. cases in the OCS monuments.

<sup>1</sup>"Codex Marianus", Luke II, 16, as cited in Nekrasov, "O zamĕnitelъnykhъ padezhakhъ ...", 57.

<sup>2</sup>V. Šcepkin (ed.), Savvina Kniga, (Graz: Editiones Monumentorum Slavicorum Veteris Dialecti, Herausgegeben vom Intitut für Slavistik der Universität Graz, 1959), p. 45.

<sup>3</sup>S. Severjanov (ed.), Codex Suprasliensis (Graz: Seminar für slavische Philologie der Universität Graz, 1956), I, p. 481.

In the early East Slavic texts, the old acc. case was a rare phenomenon in the proper nouns. It occurred in the Ostromir Gospels (1056-1057) in the following sentence: "i pridoshā podvigъshasja i obrětosha Mariju zhe i OSIFъ i mladъnъtsъ lezhashchъ vъ jaslъkhъ."<sup>4</sup> The use of the old acc. case in the proper noun 'Osifъ' was interpreted by Nekrasov as an oversight on the part of the scribe, since the same noun appeared in the gen.-acc. case in the Marianus and Zographensis codices.<sup>5</sup>

In other monuments of this period, the acc. case of the proper nouns was represented by the gen.-acc. case:

Posadi ubo sego okanъnaago SVJATOPOLъLKA vъ knjazhenii Pinskě, a JAROSLAVA Nověgorodě, a BORISA Rostově, a GLĚBA Muromě<sup>6</sup>; onъ zhe posla k nimъ blagochestivago knjazja VASILъKA, synovtsa svoego, Konstjantinovicha...; <sup>7</sup> and, a poganago KOBJAKA izъ luku morja otъ zhelěznykhъ velikikhъ plъkovъ Polovetskikhъ, jako vikhrъ vytorzhe.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup>"Ostromir Gospels", Luke II, 16, as cited in Nekrasov, "O zaměnitelъnykhъ padezhakhъ ...", p. 57.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>"Skazanie i strastъ i pokhvala svjatuju mucheniku Borisa i Glěba" in N. K. Gudzij, Khrestomatija po drevnej russkoj literature XI-XVII vekov, 5th ed.: Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1952), p. 38.

<sup>7</sup>"Povestъ o bitve na reke Kalke", ibid., p. 145.

<sup>8</sup>Iroicheskaja pěsnъ o pokhodě na Polovtsovъ udělnago knjazja Novagoroda-Severskago Igorja Svjatoslavicha, (Snimokъ sъ pervago izdanija 1800 g. gr. A. I. Musina-Pusnkiina podъred. A. F. Malinovskago, Moscow: Izdanie M. i S. Sabashnikovyxъ, 1920), pp. 21-22. (Hereafter referred to as Iroicheskaja pěsnъ...).

In the middle East Slavic texts, the sole use of the gen.-acc. case by the proper nouns is further exemplified by the following sentences:

Novgorodŭtsi zhe ostanŭke zhivŭkhŭ. poslasha  
 GJURGJA i vankovitsja posadnika. i STEPANA  
 tvŕdislavitsja. iny mouzha po knŕzja. i tŕkhŭ  
 prija. a vŕ novŕgorodŭ prislavŭ IVORA i cha-  
 ponosa;<sup>9</sup> Oni zhe, gordii, sovokupishasja  
 i rekosha: "poidemŭ i pobŕdimŭ ALEKSANDRA, i  
 imenŭ ego rukama";<sup>10</sup> Zdŕ proslavi Bogŭ  
 ALEKSANDRA predŭ vsŕmi polky, jakozhe ISUSA  
 Navvina u Erikhona.<sup>11</sup>

The examples of the gen.-acc. case in the proper nouns as they appeared in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments, demonstrate that the substitution process was complete in these nouns. The need for distinct nom. and acc. cases was most apparent in the proper nouns, which usually functioned as subject and object in the same sentence. With the adoption of the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function, syntactical ambiguity was eliminated, and the animate-inanimate category was expressed in the proper nouns through the gen.-acc. case.

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<sup>9</sup>"Novgorodskaja letopisŭ po sinidalŭnomu spisku XIII-XIV vv." in S. P. Obnorskij and S. G. Barkhudarov (eds.) Khrestomatija po istorii russkogo jazyka (Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1952), Part I, pp. 70-71.

<sup>10</sup>"Povŕstŭ o zhitii i khrabrosti blagovŕnago i velikago knjazja sv. Aleksandra Nevskago" in V. V. Sipovskij, Istoricheskaja khrestomatija po istorii ruskoj slovesnosti (8th ed.; St. Petersburg: Bashmakov, 1914), I, Vyp. I, p. 112.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

2. The Animate-Inanimate Category in the Proper Masc. Sing. Nouns of Various Stems Denoting Persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

As indicated in the preceding section of this chapter, the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic texts exhibited numerous examples of the gen.-acc. case in the masc. sing. proper nouns. In the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, these nouns were, with minor exceptions, in the gen.-acc. case. They were represented by the -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns, and occurred in the objective function in the following five contextual positions: 1. as a direct object of a transitive verb; 2. after prepositions governing the acc. case; 3. after prepositions, and followed by proper and common noun in apposition; 4. with a common appositive noun; 5. in apposition with a common noun. These positions will serve as a framework for the ensuing discussion of the substitution process in an attempt to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the proper nouns in the two Chronicles.

The examination of the material in the two Chronicles showed that the use of the gen.-acc. sing. case predominated over the old acc. case in the masc. sing.

proper nouns of various stems<sup>12</sup>, which appeared in the objective function.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the gen.-acc. case of the proper nouns occurred as a direct object four hundred sixty-nine times. A number of random examples of this case in the proper nouns include the following:

IGORJA ostavi v Kievě (La., p. 29); i pojasha Noouqorod̄tsi VOLODIMERA k sobě (La., p. 69); i nalēzosh̄a i OLBGA vyspod̄i trup̄bja (La., p. 75); ot nejazhe rodi .D̄. šny. IZESLAVA, M̄BSTISLAVA, JAROSLAVA, VSEVOLODA... ot cheknině. VYSHSLAVA. a ot drugoě STŌSLAVA. i M̄BSTISLAVA. a ot Bolgaryni BORISA i GLĚBA (La., p. 80); i posadi VYSHESLAVA v Novēgorodě (La., p. 121); i pritisnusha STŌPOLKA s družinoju (La., p. 142); bo m̄bstii prija Kain̄z oubiv̄z AVELJA (La., p. 145); i vyvede VARLAMA na igumen̄stvo k s̄tmu Dmitriju (La., p. 159); i ja D̄VDA. i VOLODARJA Rostislavicha (La., p. 205); D̄vd̄z zhe poslav̄z privede VASILJA, i LAZARJA (La., p. 268).

The same case appeared in similar nouns eight hundred sixty times in the Hypatian Chronicle. Some examples follow:

posla k nima v gorod̄z KARLA. FARLOFA. VELMUDA. RULAVA, j STĚMIDA (Hyp., p. 22) i postavi kumiry na khol̄mu... PERUNA derevljana... i KHOR̄SA. i DAZH̄BA. i STRIBA i SEMAR̄GLA (Hyp., p. 67);

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<sup>12</sup>For the sake of clarity, coherence, and avoidance of redundancy, no attempt was made to cite examples of proper nouns on the basis of various stems. However, a statistical summary concerning the substitution process of the proper nouns in various objective and contextual positions is presented in Table I at the end of this chapter.

v nezhe město postavi starěishinu MIKHAILA (Hyp., p. 75); izъgna Gь Bь ADAMA iz raja (Hyp., p. 76); i nacha Bady oukarjati BOLESLAVA glja (Hyp., p. 130); povēsisha LAZORJA i VASILJA (Hyp., p. 243); Volodimerъ zhe omirivъ GLĚBA (Hyp., p. 283); izhe vygna Gjurgi VSEVOLODA a potomъ IZJASLAVA vygna (Hyp., p. 296-297); a ROSTISLAVA Gjurdevicha Novgorodtsi posadisha v sebe (Hyp., p. 301); poima Berendichē i IZJASLAVA Dŭdvicha i Vsevolodicha SŭSLAVA (Hyp., p. 445); jasha zhe togda. i SHVARANA. i Miljaticha oba. STEPANA. i JAKUNA. i NAZHIRA Perejaslavicha (Hyp., p. 518); mněvъ jako ouzhe pobedivъ OLGA (Hyp., p. 692); LVA bo prezhe otrjadilъ bē korolevi (Hyp., p. 830).

The above examples of the gen.-acc. case in the proper nouns from the two Chronicles indicate that this case was considered the norm for these nouns.

The adoption of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. case by the proper nouns denoting persons was motivated by syntactical considerations and the animate-inanimate category. From the viewpoint of syntax, it was necessary to differentiate between the nom. and acc. cases in the proper nouns which denoted persons, which can be used most often in the subject and object function. With respect to the animate-inanimate category, the distinction between the nom. and acc. cases constituted the principle upon which this category depended for its expression. This principle was maintained by utilizing the gen.-acc. case instead of the old acc. case, which was identical with the old nom. case in the animate nouns.

Along with the gen.-acc. case, there was only one example of the old acc. case of the proper noun among similar nouns which appeared in the gen.-acc. case. The noun in question was recorded in the Hypatian Chronicle:

i vzbisha tu v polku knjazii. <sup>k</sup> Ourusobu.  
 Kochija. Jaroslanopu. Kitanopu. Kumana.  
 Asupa Kuržtyka. Chenegrepa. SUR̄BAR̄. i  
 prochaja knjazja ikhъ (Hyp., p. 255).

The proper noun 'Sur̄bar̄' does not appear in the Laurentian Chronicle, but in the Khlebnikov and Pogodin Chronicles it occurred in the gen.-acc. case 'Surbarja'. (Hyp., p. 225. Footnote No. 45).

The appearance of this proper noun in the old acc. sing. case, which can be considered as a deviation from the accepted norm, can be explained in either of two ways. First, it is possible that the scribe simply made an error, or copied the word as it appeared in the original text. Second, the retention of the old acc. case in one proper noun, when it was preceded or followed by another, similar, noun in the gen.-acc. case, caused no syntactical ambivalence because the two proper nouns formed a homogeneous objective unit from the viewpoint of syntactical function.<sup>13</sup> In view of these explanations, the old acc. case of the proper noun 'Sur̄bar̄' retained its original function.

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<sup>13</sup>A. A. Shakhmatov, Istoricheskaja morfologija russkogo jazyka, (Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1957), pp. 51. 220-221.

In view of the preponderance of the use of the gen.-acc. case in the proper nouns, one can conclude that in both Chronicles the animate-inanimate category expressed itself adequately.

When proper nouns were preceded by various prepositions governing the acc. case, the examples of the old acc. case were limited. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the proper 'Adamъ' and 'Bogъ' appeared in this case after a preposition in the following three instances:

i Vъ novyi ADAMъ oblechesja ezhe estъ Khъ  
(La., p. 68); i vъzlozhi Bъ NA ADAMъ snъ  
(La., p. 88); on zhe rech sego esmъ ne mol-  
vilъ. no nadějusja NA Bъ (La., p. 265).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the proper noun 'Adamъ' also appeared once in the old acc. case after a preposition:

si bo omysja stōju kupělъju. svlechesja  
grěkhovnyja odezha. vetkhago chlĭvka Adama.  
i Vъ novyi ADAMъ oblēches. ezhe estъ Khъ  
(Hyp., p. 56).

The proper noun 'Bogъ' appeared eight times in the old acc. case after prepositions in the same Chronicle:

i budu imъ Vъ Bъ. i ti budut mĕnĕ vъ ljudi  
(Hyp., p. 86); on zhe reche. sego esmъ ne  
molvilъ. no nadějasja NA Bъ (Hyp., p. 239);  
skoupivъ silou svoju Polovtsi i poide na-  
dējasja NA Bъ (Hyp., p. 374); Rostislavichi  
zhe ougadavshe i ouzrĕvshe NA Bъ (Hyp., p.  
570); a bykhomъ ouzrĕvshe NA Bъ i na stoi Btsi  
pomochъ. pomĕstili sebe (Hyp., p. 607); Borisъ  
Zakharъichъ. s Volodimerĭimi ljudmi knjazhicha  
svoego. i vozrĕvshe NA Bъ i ěkhasha na nĕ  
(Hyp., p. 622); i Sdeslavъ Zhiroslavichъ, sъ  
mĕstislavlimъ polkomъ. i vĕzrĕvshe NA Bъ.

i poěkha protivou Polovtsemь (Hyp., p. 623); a nyně gospodine ne slyshalъ esmь. ozhe esi dalъ zemlju svoju vsju i gorody. bratou svoemou Mьstislavou. a nadějusja NA Bь i na tja (Hyp., p. 906).

The use of prepositions before the old acc. case of the proper nouns left no doubt regarding <sup>the</sup> acc. function of the case in question, since the nom. case is never governed by prepositions. For this reason, one can state that the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression on prepositions, and on the old acc. case of the proper nouns, in both Chronicles.

The gen.-acc. case after various prepositions appeared one hundred fifty-two times in the Laurentian Chronicle. Some random examples are:

věruemъ V PERUNA i Vь VOLOSA skotъja Bь (La., p. 73); khotjakhу Rogъnedъ vesti ZA JAROPLKA (La., p. 76); Sotona zhe vlěze V KAINA i po-strekashe Kaina (La., p. 89); i razgnevasja Gьb NA MOISEJA (La., p. 96); Khotjashchju Volodimeru iti NA JAROSLAVA (La., p. 130); Novgorodtsi zhe idosha Rostovu PO MьSTISLAVA Volodimericha (La., p. 229); V to zhe vremjapoide Volodimerko g Kyevu NA IZJASLAVA (La., p. 326); I potom posla v Rjazanъ PO ROMANA. i po bratju ego. i v Murom PO DьVDA (La., p. 430).

Similar combinations, consisting of various prepositions followed by the gen.-acc. case of the proper nouns, occurred three hundred forty-six times in the Hypatian Chronicle.

The following examples illustrate this use:

po sem zhe paky vьzroptasha NA MOISĚJA. i NA ARONA (Hyp., p. 83); Poide Boleslavъ sь Stōpolkomъ NA JAROSLAVA s Ljakhy (Hyp., p. 130); Stōpolkъ zhe prognavъ Dьvda. nacha dumati NA VOLODARJA i NA VASILKA (Hyp., p. 244); i vy mne este rekli ne mozhemъ na Volodimire plemja rouky vьznjati NA GJURJA (Hyp., p. 348); Vjachъslavъ sь Izjaslavomъ

poidosta NA STŌSLAVA Olgovicha. k Novugorodu. i NA VASILKA Djurgevicha (Hyp., p. 459); Jaroslavъ zhe vъzrēvъ NA PETRA i rosplakasja (Hyp., p. 468); Vjacheslavъ zhe posla PO STŌSLAVA. pō Vsevolodicha (Hyp., p. 470); togda zhe Andreevnu privedosha ZA STŌSLAVA. ZA VOLODIMIRA vъ Vshchizhъ (Hyp., p. 509); khodi Mъstislavъ Izjaslavichъ ... NA GJURGJA na Jaroslavicha (Hyp., 510); TogoZh lēta Andrēi knjazъ Suzhdalъskyi. rozgnevasja na Rostislavichi. PRO GRIGORЪJA pō Khotovicha (Hyp., p. 572); i abbe oustrēmivsjā Stōslavъ na ratъ PRO GLEBA sŋa svoego (Hyp., p. 615); i da dshcherъ svoju.za Lonokrabovicha. ZA LOUDOVKA (Hyp., p. 723); Kouremъsa poide NA DANILA i NA VASILKA (Hyp., p. 810); Boleslav zhe sovokupivъ ratъ svoju... poidosha NA ANDRIKHA Krakovu (Hyp., p. 934)

The examples of the gen.-acc. case of the masc. proper nouns, used alone, or after prepositions, demonstrate convincingly that the substitution process in these nouns was almost complete in both Chronicles, with few exceptions. As the gen.-acc. case duly supplanted the old acc. case, morphological distinction in the nom. and acc. cases was achieved, and syntactical clarity was secured in the proper nouns functioning as subject and object. These two factors facilitated <sup>the</sup> most adequate expression of the animate-inanimate category in the proper nouns in both Chronicles.

Further examination of the proper nouns after prepositions revealed that these nouns were followed by common nouns in the appositive function. In this context, the proper nouns appeared in the gen.-acc. case, while the common nouns denoting persons occurred in the gen.-acc. and the old acc. cases.

In the situation where the proper and the common nouns in apposition were represented by the gen.-acc. cases after prepositions, both Chronicles had several examples. Specifically, the Laurentian Chronicle had five instances of this use:

i Obri /izhe/ khodisha NA ARBKLIJA TŠRJA (La., p. 11); Poide Jaropolkъ NA OLGA BRATA svoego na Derevъsku zemlu (La., p. 74); Khotjashetъ bo NA JAROSLAVA iti NA ŠNA svoego (La., p. 130); i posla PO ROSTISLAVA BRATA svoego (La., p. 219) bęsha bo Novgorodtsi v to vremja priękhali PO JAROSLAVA KNJAZJA (La., p. 448).

Comparable examples appeared thirteen times in the Hypatian Chronicle:

i posla PO ROSTISLAVA BRATA svoeg do Perejaslavlja (Hyp., p. 210); Khochemъ poiti NA GJURGJA. NA STRYJA svoego i na Stōslava (Hyp. p. 344); V to zhe veremja Rostislavъ Smolenъskii prosi dcheri ou Stōslava ou Olgovich ZA ROMANA ŠNA svoego (Hyp., p. 368); i jasja PO ROSTISLAVA PO Smolenъskago KNJAZJA (Hyp., p. 484); poękha k Perejaslavlju NA GLEBA NA ZJATJA svoego (Hyp., p. 514); priyede Stōslavъ ZA VSEVOLODA ZA serednego ŠNA zhenou iz Liakhovъ (Hyp., p. 612); posla zhe vъ Trepolъ PO MъSTISLAVA. PO STROICHA svoego PO MъSTISLAVICHA (Hyp., p. 677); posla zhe PO LVA ŠNA si. i po ljudi svoja (Hyp., p. 847); nacha otdavat. dshcherъ svoju. Olgou. ZA ANDRĚA KNJAZJA. Vsevolodicha (Hyp., p. 848); onomou zhe velikou opalu stvorshu NA VASILKA KNJAZJA i na Lva (Hyp., p. 849); Poslalъ bјashetъ Mindovgъ. vsju svoju silou. za Dněprъ. NA ROMANA NA Brjanskogo KNJAZJA (Hyp., p. 860); i nacha otdavati milouju svoju docherъ imenemъ Olgou. ZA VOLODIMERA KNJAZJA šna Vasilkova (Hyp., p. 861-862); ide Litva na Ljakhy voevatъ. NA BCLESLAVA KNJAZJA (Hyp., p. 864).

The presence of the gen.-acc. case after various prepositions in the proper and common appositive nouns denoting persons, bears witness to the fact that the animate-inanimate category was fully utilizing the gen.-acc. case for its expression in the two Chronicles.

The Hypatian Chronicle was the only Chronicle which revealed an example of the old case of the common noun in apposition with the proper noun in the following sentence: "Poide Jaropolkъ NA OLGA BRAT svoego na Derevъskuju zemlju" (Hyp., p. 62). In the Laurentian Chronicle, this same phrase was represented by the gen.-acc. case of both proper and common nouns: "Poidi Jaropolkъ NA OLGA BRATA svoego na Derevъsku zemlju" (La., p. 74). According to Sprinchak, the retention of the old acc. case by the common appositive noun, one member of the prepositional phrase, did not cause any syntactical confusion because:

naritsatelъnoe sushchestvitelъnoe -  
prjamoe dopolnenie - upotrebljaetsja  
kak odnorodnyj s sobstvennym imenem  
chlen predlozhenija.<sup>14</sup>

In the objective function of the proper noun followed by the common appositive noun, both nouns appeared in the gen.-acc. cases in both Chronicles. The Laurentian Chronicle contained forty-five examples of the double gen.-acc. cases of the proper and common nouns:

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<sup>14</sup>Sprinchak, op. cit., p. 169.

pošem zhe Kotselъ knjazъ postavi MEFODЪJA ĖPPA v Panii na stolě. stġo Onġdronika āpla (La., (La., p. 28); i oumre ostavivъ PETRA KNJAZJA ŠNA svoego. Bolġgaromъ (Hyp., p. 45); i izbra Ėb DŲDA i TŠRJA nadъ IZġmъ (La., p. 97); Izhe prokljata MAKIDONЪJA DKHOBORЪTSA (Hyp. p. 113); v se zhe leto vsadi Jaroslavъ SUDISLAVA v porupъ BRATA svoego (La., p. 151); i narech imъ. IJAKOVA prezvitera (La., p. 186-187); i posla Vsevolodъ VOLODIMERA ŠNA svoego (La., p. 205); i oubisha IZJASLAVA ŠNA Volodimerja. VNUKA Vsevolozha (La., p. 237); Izjaslavъ zhe posla naperedъ SOSLAVA SESTRICHA svoego Chernigovu (La., p. 315); i poima VOLODIMERA BRATA i MЪSTISLAVA ŠNA svoego z Berendġi (La., p. 327); a po Perejaslavtsi posla MSTISLAVICHA JAROSLAVA SNOŲTSJA svoego (La., p. 380); Zdumasha Novgorodtsi. poslati DALMATA ĖPPA Novgorodъskogo (La., p. 474).

Similar combinations of the proper and common nouns were represented ninety-five times in the Hypatian Chronicle:

Volodimerъ zhe poimъ tšrtsju i Nastasa... i FIVA OŲCHNKA ego (Hyp., p. 101); v se zhe lġt postavi mitropolitъ ANFILOKHYJA ĖPPA Volodimerju (Hyp., p. 257); i VOLODARJA jasha Ljakhovġ lġstġju. Vasilkova BRATA (Hyp., p. 286); vodja sġ soboju BRJACHISLAVA ZJATJA svoego (Hyp., p. 292); posla Vsevolodъ STĲPOLKA vġ Novġgorodъ. SHJURINA svoego (Hyp., p. 309); i STĲSLAVA poja ŠNA svoego i BOLESLAVA Ljakъskago KNJAZJA ZJATJA svoeg (Hyp., p. 319); i tako skonchasha i IGORJA KNJAZJA ŠNA Olgova (Hyp., p. 353); i tu oubisha VOLODIMIRA KNJAZJA Dvdvicha Chernigovskogo dobrego i krotkogo (Hyp., p. 438); iskati IVANA Rostislavicha. STRĲICHICHA svoego (Hyp., p. 496); vzovġta mi SEMĲJUNA POPA (Hyp., p. 531); i posla StĲslavъ ko Vsevolodou. PĲRFJURIJA ĖPPA Chernigovъskogo. OFRġMA OGRġMA IGOUMENA stoe Bġsi (Hyp., p. 606); posla knzъ Rjurikъ GLEBA KNJAZJA SHJURINA svoego s zhenojju (Hyp., p. 658); poima s soboju KOURILA MITROPOLITA (Hyp., p. 794); Zhiroslavъ zhe privede VOLODISLAVA zlog MJATEZHNIKA zemlġ (Hyp., p. 804); otrjadi voevodou. VASILKA KNJAZJA Voslonimъskogo. Volodimġrovi (Hyp., p. 884).

Since the proper and the common appositive nouns denoting persons were represented by the gen.-acc. sing.

cases in the objective function, one can conclude that the animate-inanimate category expressed itself fully in the proper nouns, as evidenced by the material from both Chronicles:

Finally, in the context where the proper noun functioned as an appositive to the common noun denoting persons, the gen.-acc. case appeared as a norm in both nouns. The Laurentian Chronicle contained one hundred eighty-seven instances of this combination, some of which are:

no obache ljubjashe Oľga SNA svoego STOSLAVA (La., p. 64); I poja Avramъ SNVTSA svoego LOTA (La., p. 92); i posadi v nego mesto BRATA svoego STOPOLKA (La., p. 174); khotja videti IGUMENA NIKONA (La., p. 191); Vsevolodъ zhe posadi POSADNIKA RATIBORA Tmutorokani (La., p. 204); i prisla Volodimerъ OTROKA svoego BJANDJUKA (La., p. 228); i KNJAJZA ikhъ oubisha TUGORKANA i sna ego (La., p. 232); vygna Olgovichъ Vsevolodъ svoego STRYJA JAROSLAVA (La., p. 296); Postavisha EPPA MANUILA skoptsa Smolinъsku. potom drugoho SKOPTSA Volodimerju EPPA FEODORA (La., p. 304); no priimъ SVETNIKA GJURGJA Jaroslavicha (La., p. 323); slushaja TESTJA svoego STOSLAVA (La., p. 387); i nacha k nim slati KNJAZJA DVDA Muromskago (La., p. 431); Posla blgorodnyi knjazъ Vasilko. Kostjantinovich OTSA svoego dkhvnago KIRILA na eppbstvo (La., p. 456); izvedosha ARKHI-MANDRITA stgo Bojavlenbja IGNATbJA (La., p. 476).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, similar combinations of the common nouns and proper appositive nouns appeared two hundred seventy-five times. The following sentences illustrate this use:

Ouměřshju zhe Rjurikovi. predast' knjazhenie svoe Olgovi. ot roda emu sushcha. v' dav' emu na rutse SNA svoego IGORJA. bjashe b'q molod' velmi (Hyp., p. 16); i razgněvasja B' na IZl'ja. i postavi nad' nimi TŠRJA SAOULA (Hyp., p. 84); imzhe privědenie obrětokhom'. vėroju KNJAZJA nashego VOLODIMERA v bl'gst' siju (Hyp., p. 105); Posla Jaroslav' SNA svoego VOLODIMERA na Greky (Hyp., p. 154); v'zvede ochi svoi khotja viditi. IGUMENA NIKONA (Hyp., p. 182); Prived' Jaropolk' BRATA svoego. ANDRĚJA iz' Volodimerja (Hyp., p. 297); i naslėdi OTSA svoego. VOLODIMERA. Monomakha. velikago (Hyp., p. 303); Izjaslav' zhe i MITROPOLITA KLIMA poja s' soboju (Hyp., p. 383); vidiv' zhe Vjacheslav' SNOVTSJA svoeg ROSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 423); i poslasha OTROKA KUZMINA noč' (Hyp., p. 501); i prisla Volodimir' D'JACH'KA IMORMYZHA (Hyp., p. 535); Glėb' zhe posla BRATA svoego MIKHALKA (Hyp., p. 557); i odariv' D'vd' BRATA svoego RJURIKA (Hyp., p. 682); i samogo KNJAZJA JUR'JA oubisha (Hyp., p. 779); Danilo zhe s bratom'. idosha... i poide ko Vozvjaglju prezhe posla SNA si. SHVARNA (Hyp., p. 838).

These examples of the gen.-acc. cases in the common and the proper appositive nouns clearly demonstrate that the animate-inanimate category expressed itself through the gen.-acc. case in both Chronicles.

Although the above instances of the gen.-acc. case in the two nouns constitute a numerical majority, there were two deviations from the norm in the Laurentian Chronicle. In one instance, both nouns -- the common and the proper -- were represented by the old acc. case:

postavi bo prezhe grado-s' velikii Volodimer'.  
i potom' knjaz' Andrei. sego zhe Mikhaila  
/i BRAT ego VSEVOLOD/ izbra /B' i/ st'aja Btsa  
(La., p. 378).

The second instance had the common noun in the gen.-acc. case, while the proper noun was in the old acc. case:

"Izjaslav zhe poslavъ brata svoego Protislava .. ŠNA zhe svoego JAROSLAVъ posadi Turově" (La., p. 314). In the Hypatian Chronicle, the appositive proper noun 'Jaroslavъ' occurred in the gen.-acc. case in a similar sentence: "i posadi ŠNA svoego. RSLAVA v Turově: (Hyp., p. 330). Similarly, in the Radziwill and the Troitskaja Chronicles, the appositive proper noun 'Jaroslavъ' appeared in the gen.-acc. case. (La., p. 314, Footnote No. 37).

The two instances of the old acc. case in the proper appositive nouns can be regarded as rare occurrences, and they in no way undermined the animate-inanimate category in the masc. sing. common nouns denoting persons. According to Shakhmatov, the presence of the gen.-acc. case in either the proper or the common nouns provided a favourable circumstance for the retention of the old acc. case, and it did not diminish the efficacy of the animate-inanimate opposition in the proper nouns.<sup>15</sup>

The examination of the masc. sing. proper nouns with respect to the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the above five contextual positions in the two Chronicles warrants several observations regarding the status of the animate-inanimate category in these nouns.

First, it is evident that the substitution process was virtually complete in both Chronicles in the proper

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<sup>15</sup>Shakhmatov, loc. cit.

nouns, with the result that the gen.-acc. case was considered as the norm for the objective case. This fact is adequately substantiated by the preponderant occurrence of the gen.-acc. case in the proper nouns in five different positions as illustrated by the material in both Chronicles. The reason for the utilization of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old acc. case lies in the fact that these nouns appeared most frequently in the role of subject and object in a language whose syntactical relationships were determined primarily by specific morphological case-endings rather than by word order.

Second, the following explanations can be presented for the several deviations from the use of the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function. It is possible to ascribe the retention of the old acc. case in the proper nouns to older texts from which the scribe merely transcribed the given proper noun in its original form, or made an error in spelling the word in question. Furthermore, the use of the old acc. case in the proper nouns after various prepositions left no doubt that the case was acc. rather than nom. case. The retention of the old acc. case by the appositive proper noun which was preceded by the gen.-acc. case of the common noun caused no confusion of function because the two nouns formed a syntactical unit in the objective use.

Finally, since these deviations had no effect on the use of the gen.-acc. case by the proper nouns in five contextual positions, one may conclude that the animate category was well established in these nouns in both the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

TABLE I

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND THE GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE MASC. SING. PROPER NOUNS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPAITAN CHRONICLES

TYPES OF NOUNS IN OBJECTIVE FUNCTION	C A S E S	FREQUENCY	
		LA.	HYP.
1. PROPER NOUN AS DIRECT OBJECT	a. Acc=Gen	469	860
	b. Old Acc	0	1
2. PREPOSITIONS PLUS PROPER NOUNS	a. Acc=Gen	152	346
	b. Old Acc	3	9
3. PREPOSITIONS PLUS PROPER NOUNS PLUS COMMON IN APPOSITION	a. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Gen	5	13
	b. Acc=Gen plus Old Acc	0	1
4. PROPER NOUNS PLUS COMMON IN APPOSITION	a. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Gen	45	95
	b. Acc=Gen plus Old Acc	0	0
5. COMMON NOUNS PLUS PROPER IN APPOSITION	a. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Gen	187	275
	b. Old Acc plus Old Acc	1	0
	c. Acc=Gen plus Old Acc	1	0

## CHAPTER IV

### ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE COMMON MASC. SING. NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS

#### Introduction

The material examined in the previous chapter indicated that the masc. sing. proper nouns denoting persons appeared overwhelmingly in the gen.-acc. case whenever they occurred in the objective function. In view of this fact, the animate-inanimate category, which relied on the distinct nom. and the gen.-acc. sing. cases, expressed itself most fully in these nouns. The evidence shows that the common masc. sing. nouns referring to persons were also acquiring the gen. case for the acc. function in place of the old acc. case. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is twofold: to present a brief survey of the substitution process in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic texts; and to examine the same process in the above nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles in order to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the common masc. sing. nouns referring to persons. These nouns will be examined in contextual positions similar to those of the proper nouns in chapter III.

1. Animate-inanimate Category in the Common Masc. Sing. Nouns Denoting Persons in the OCS, Early, and Middle East Slavic Texts

Meillet made the following observation regarding the use of the gen.-acc. sing. case of the masc. nouns in the OCS monuments: "la règle de l'emploi du génitif-accusatif n'est pas appliquée avec constance".<sup>1</sup> In other words, both the gen.-acc. and the old acc. cases were used.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, in Meillet's opinion, the utilization of the gen.-acc. case in the OCS texts indicates that the substitution process was not of recent origin, but was an extension from the late Common Slavic period.<sup>3</sup> To illustrate the presence of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the OCS monuments, one may cite the following examples:

отвѣштавъ zhe isousъ reche emou o rode  
neverънъ i razvrashtenъ, do kolě bōdō vъ  
vasъ i trъplъjq vy; privede SYNъ tvoi sěmo;<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Meillet, Recherches..., p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 32-74.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>4</sup>"Codex Zographensis", Luke IX, 41, as cited in Karl H. Menges (ed.), Texts to Accompany An Introduction to Old Church Slavic (New York: Columbia University, 1953), p. 3.

poslěď zhe posъla kъ nimъ SYNъ svoi glagolja.  
ousramlějotъ sę SYNA moego. dělatele zhe egda  
ouzъreshe SYNъ. reshę vъ sebě; <sup>5</sup>

Vъ onov. chlкъ edinъ pride kъ isvi.  
Klanjaja se emou i gle. ouchitelju  
privedokh SNъ moi kъ tebě; <sup>6</sup>

At the same time, one encounters the gen.-acc. case:

I mimo idъ isousъ vidě CHLOVĚKA slěpa  
otъ pozhdestva; <sup>7</sup>

zaprěti zhe isousъ doukhovi nechistomou.  
doushe nechisty, izidi otъ otroka. i itsěli  
OTROKA i vъdastъ i otъtsju ego; <sup>8</sup>

I mimo idъ Isousъ vidě CHLOVEKA slěpa  
otъ rozhdestva, <sup>9</sup> ouchitelju mqlq ti se  
prizъri NA SNA moego. <sup>10</sup>

Because the old acc. case prevailed in masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in the OCS texts, one may conclude that the substitution process was not completed in these nouns.

<sup>5</sup>"Codex Marianus", Matthew XXI, 37-38, as cited in S.D. Nikiforov, Staroslavjanskij jazyk (Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1952), p. 102.

<sup>6</sup>Ščepkin, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>7</sup>"Codex Marianus", John, IX, 1, as cited in A. Leskien, Handbuch der altbulgarischen (altkirchenslavischen) Sprache (6th ed.; Heidelberg: Winter, 1922), p. 206.

<sup>8</sup>"Codex Zographensis", Luke IX, 42, Menges, loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup>"Codex Marianus", John IX, 1, as cited in Menges, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>10</sup>Ščepkin, op. cit., p. 38.

As a corollary to this phenomenon, one may further state that the animate-inanimate category relied both on the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases for its expression in the masc. sing. nouns referring to persons.

The early and middle East Slavic monuments showed a degree of vacillation between the usage of the old acc. case and of the gen.-acc. case in the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.<sup>11</sup> Some examples of the old acc. case-forms from various texts of this period include:

Възъмъши зхе бл̃зhenaja ѿeodora ДѢТИШТѢ;<sup>12</sup>

Azhe kto poznajetъ CHELJADINъ svoi oukradenъ  
a poimetъ i. to onomou vesti i po kounamъ;<sup>13</sup>

i ide rostovou. sъ drouzhinoju svojeju. a SѢNъ  
ostavivъ novegorodě i pride rostovou.<sup>14</sup>

The gen.-acc. case was also used extensively in various nouns and texts of this period as evidenced by the following citations:

<sup>11</sup>Kedajtene, "Razvitie from roditel'nogo-vinitel'nogo padezha...", p. 159.

<sup>12</sup>S. I. Kotkov (ed.), Izbornik 1076 goda (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), p. 481.

<sup>13</sup>"Russkaja pravda po Novgorodskoj Kormchej 1282 g." in Obnorskij and Barkhudarov, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>14</sup>"Novgorodskaja letopisъ po Sinodal'nomu spisku XIII-XIV vv.", Ibid., p. 69.

Kako ispověmъ: "ꙗ;otъvĕt" Bloudъnaago ŠNA  
podražjai;<sup>15</sup>

Imashe MYTARJA i bloudъnaago ŠNA. bloudъnicu  
i RAZBOINIKА vъ edinomъ chjasĕ;<sup>16</sup>

Ashche oubо obrjashcheshi MUZHA dkĕhvĕna iskousъna  
mogoushcha tja vrachevati besramlenija;<sup>17</sup>

Anadanъ, uzrĕvъ BRATA svoego, ego zhe takzhe  
kormjakhъ vъ domu svoemъ;<sup>18</sup>

Ashche ubъjutъ TATJA na svoemъ dvorĕ, ljubo u  
klĕti, ili u khlĕva: to toi ubitъ.<sup>19</sup>

The examples of the gen.-acc. and the old acc. cases, as found in the early and middle East Slavic texts, indicate that both cases were used to express the acc. function. Thus, the retention of the old acc. case and the adoption of the gen.-acc. case lead one to conclude that the animate-inanimate category was gradually asserting itself in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.

<sup>15</sup>Kotkov, op. cit., p. 547.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 552.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 631.

<sup>18</sup>"Povestъ ob Akire premudrom" in Gudzij, op. cit., p. 109.

<sup>19</sup>"Pravda Rosъkaja" (Spisok Akademicheskij), in Hermenegild Jireček (comp.), Svod Zákonnŭ Slovanskýkh (Prague: F. Tempný, 1880), p. 13.

2. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Common Masc. Sing. Nouns Denoting Persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

The substitution process in the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns referring to persons was reflected extensively in the two Chronicles. However, the use of the gen.-acc. case was not as universally adopted in this group of common nouns as it was in the proper nouns. One still finds examples of the old acc. case in various contextual positions in one or the other of the two Chronicles.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, for example, the gen.-acc. case appeared two hundred thirty-three times. The old acc. case occurred twenty-three times in the masc. sing. common nouns of various stems.<sup>20</sup> Comparatively speaking, this meant that the gen.-acc. and the old acc. case stood in a ratio of nine to one. Instances of the gen.-acc. case<sup>21</sup> of various common nouns denoting persons are illustrated by the following sentences from the Laurentian Chronicle:

<sup>20</sup>Since the former classification of the masc. sing. nouns according to stems has lost its efficacy as a result of the simplification process on the basis of the 'hard' and 'soft' case-endings, no reference will be made to either classification during the examination of these nouns with respect to substitution.

<sup>21</sup>A detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the common masc. sing. nouns of various stems denoting persons is included in Table II at the end of the chapter.

Oleg zhe posmějasja i oukori KUDESNIKA (La., p. 39); da pristroite medy mnogi vь gradě oubiste MUZHA moego da plachjusja nadь grobomь ego (La., p. 57); ashche ne poidete k namь to nalezemь KNJAZJA sobě (La., p. 69); imьzhe ouchenьemь poběžhaemь. protivnago VRAGA. (La., p. 83); viděvь zhe dьjavolь jako pochtі Bь CHLVKA (La., p. 88); Volodimerь zhe velikimь muzhemь stvori togo. i OTSA ego (La., p. 124); dostoitь ti kazniti RAZBOINIKА (La., p. 127); i ouzrě zhelaemago BRATA svoego (La., p. 136); i rekosha potavi namь IGUMENA (La., p. 159); Izjaslavь. Stōslavь. i Vsevolodь. vysadisha STROJA svoego is poruba (La., p. 162); i khotjakhu pogubiti ĖPPA (La., p. 181); i prijasha i Muromtsi. i POSADNIKA ja Olgova (La., p. 229); a togo ne zabyvaite ne lēnitesja. tēmь bo nochnym poklonom i pēnьem chlvkь poběžhaet DьJAVOLA (La., p. 245); i OTSA svoego pomjanuvь (La., p. 296); se prislav Volodimerь ŠNA svoego (La., p. 275); ne slushai Jaroslavicha primiri SNVьTSA (La., p. 326); aby Izjaslavь ne pritjaglь g korolevi. bē bō Izjaslavь slyshavь KOROLJA (La., p. 337); Berendēeve zhe jasha KNJAZJA za povodь (La., p. 360); Posla blgovernyi i khotjubivyi knjazь Vsevolodь Gjurgevič. TIVUNA svoego Gjurju (La., p. 412); knjazь zhe velikii posadi SVOJAKA svoeg na Novom Torьzhьku (La., p. 414); no pache oblichashe GRABITELJA. i MZDOIMTSA (La., p. 439); izvoli ego postaviti SLUZHITELJA svoei tsrkvi. i PASTUKHA i OUCHITELJA Rostovu. i Jaroslavlju. i Ouglechju polju (La., p. 456). togo zhe lēta privede knzь Andrei TSRVICHА (La., p. 526).

In addition to the gen.-acc. case, the old acc. case was also present in the common masc. sing. nouns. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were eighteen instances of this case with the modifier 'svoi' in either the old acc. or gen.-acc. case. According to Shakhmatov, the presence of this modifier implied that the case of the

noun represented the acc. function.<sup>22</sup> Sentences containing the modifier 'svoi' and various masc. sing. nouns in the acc. case include the following:

vypusti ty svoi MUZHъ a ja svoi da sja boreta (La., p. 122); zautra priekhasha Pechenězi. i svoi MUZHъ privedosha (Ibid.); vypustisha Pechenězi MUZHъ svoi (La., p. 123); posla MUZHъ svoi i vda imъ goru tu (La., p. 159); i prijasha KNJAZъ svoi Kyjane (La., p. 174); i posla k nemu Mьstislavъ SOLъ svoi iz Novagoroda glja (La., p. 237); da zhe nachneshi kajatisja Bu. i mně dobro srdste stvorisha. poslavъ SOLъ svoi ili ppspa (La., p. 254); chemu jesi slěpilъ BRAT svoi (La., p. 263); da zhe by mene Dvdъ poslushavъ. da bykh poslalъ MUZHъ svoi k Volodimeru vorotitsja (La., p. 265); i molvi jemu tako. ozhe khoshcheshi poslati MUZHъ svoi. i vorotitsja Volodimerъ (La., p. 265); bē bo Stōpolkъ s Volodimerom rjadъ imelē. jako Novugorodu byti Stopolchju. i posaditi SNъ svoi v nemъ. a Volodimeru posaditi SNъ svoi v Volodimeri (La., p. 275); Novgorodtsi vygnasha Stōslava. a ko Vsevolodu prislasha epspa s muzhi svoimi. rekushche dai nam SNъ svoi. a Stōslava ne khochem. i posla SNъ svoi. a Stōslava ne khochem. i posla k nim SNъ svoi (La., p. 308); i rech Romanъ k Rjurikovi to ouzh esi krstъ tselovalъ. poshli ty MOUZH svoeg ko svatu svoemu. a ja shlju svoeg MOUZH ko otsju i gnou velikou knzju Vsevlodu (La., p. 419); prisla Romanъ MOUZH svoeg. k velikomu knzju (La., p. 420).

There also were two examples of the old acc. case of the masc. sing. nouns with the pronoun-adjective 'moi', and three instances with no modifier, as shown in these sentences:

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<sup>22</sup>Shakhmatov, op. cit., p. 51.

onъ zhe rekkh ashche sutъ bzi. to  
edinogo sobe posljudъ ba da imutъ  
SNъ moi. (La., p. 83); i rechъ Volo-  
darъ Bъ svĕdĕtelъ tomu. a nynĕ pusti  
BRAT moi i stvorju s toboju mirъ  
(La., p. 267), and i paky se dvtsa  
vъ outrobĕ zachnetъ. i roditъ SYNъ  
i prozovoutъ imja enu Enĕmailъ (La.,  
p. 100); napoite nakormite. ounenina.  
i bole zhe chtite GOSTъ (La., p. 246);  
a sego ny dalъ Vsevolodъ. a vъskormili  
jesmy sobĕ KNJAZъ. a ty jesi shelъ ot  
nasъ (La., p. 276).

Since the old acc. case was morphologically similar to the nom. case in the above five examples, there could have been confusion of subject and object relationship. However, from the viewpoint of syntax and context, the case in question was acc. Therefore, in the Laurentian Chronicle, the animate-inanimate category was expressed adequately in the common masc. sing. nouns signifying persons.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons appeared in a ratio of seven to one in favour of the gen.-acc. case. Numerically, there were three hundred seventy-eight examples of the gen.-acc. case-forms and fifty-four of the old acc. The following citations illustrate the use of the gen.-acc. of various nouns:

i vъzlozhatъ na kladu MRTVĚTSA (Hyp., p. 10);  
Volodimerъ zhe prishedъ v tovary posla po to-  
varomъ BIRICHA (Hyp., p. 107)' i ouzrĕ zhelae-  
mago BRATA svoego (Hyp., p. 123); jako zhe  
Isaja gltъ. otimetъ GB ot Erlma krĕpostъ. i  
krĕpkago ISPOLINA i CHLVKA khrabra. i sudbju  
i PRĚKA. i smirena STARTSA. i divna SVĚTNIKA.  
i mudra KHYTRĚTSA. razumbna POSLUSHNIKA. i

postavljju ounoshju KNJAZJA imъ. i RUGATELJA imъ. obladajushcha imi (Hyp., p. 127); i rekoshа postavi namъ IGUMENA (Hyp., p. 148); i vidě obekhodjashcha BESA (Hyp., p. 181); da bykhъ poslalъ MUZHA svoego k Volodimeru (Hyp., p. 239); a togo LJUBODĚITSA vsěknu (Hyp., p. 279); tako poslakhъ OTROKA svoego (Hyp., p. 225); i Polovchinъ priěkha vdarit vdaritъ SMERDA strěloju (Hyp., p. 252); Polovchinъ oudaritъ SMERDA strěloju (Hyp., p. 265); a Djurdevich STRĚICHICHA svoego pousti (Hyp., p. 310); Gjurgi zhe v soromě ŠNA svoego szhalivъ (Hyp., p. 374); Izjaslavъ zhe poslal POSLA k bratu svoemu (Hyp., p. 461); poslushavъ ZJATJA svoego Galichkago (Hyp., p. 486); otpusti RABA svoego (Hyp., p. 532); i potjasha i STJAGOVNIKA nashego (Hyp., p. 558); i pousti SHJURINA svoego domovъ (Hyp., p. 662); Jaroslav zhe ne dozhdavъ rjadou posla SŃOV TSA svoja (Hyp., p. 691); da by emu nashla POMO-SHCHNIKA (Hyp., p. 723); Litva zhe vsja pri-jasha i s radostъju svoego GOSPŃODICHA (Hyp., p. 861); posla zhe s nimъ i OTSA svoego dkhvnago (Hyp., p. 931).

Along with the gen.-acc. case in various common nouns denoting persons, there were fifty-four instances of the old acc. case. Out of this total, forty-five appeared with the modifier 'svoi', as can be noted from the following random examples:

a Jaropolkъ posadi POSADNIKъ SVOI vъ Nověgorodě (Hyp., p. 63); i iziidoshа ijudъe protivu s poklonomъ i prijasha KNJAZъ SVOI Kyaně (Hyp., p. 163); i posla kъ nimъ SNъ svoi (Hyp., p. 307); Gjurgi zhe protivu tomu prisla SVOI POSOLъ (Hyp., p. 430); i TIOUNъ SVOI posla (Hyp., p. 533); i ou-jazvisha i SVOI DRUG (Hyp., p. 587); pre-stavja k nemou MOUZHъ SVOI i posla ego Kazi-mirou v Ljakhy (Hyp., p. 666); Prisla Jurbi Lvovichъ POSOLъ SVOI (Hyp., p. 911)

In addition to these examples with the modifier 'svoi', there were three instances in which the old acc.

case was followed by three other modifiers in the gen.-acc. case:

da ljubjai Ba ljubitŭ i BRAT SVOEGO  
(Hyp., p. 195); tobě by brate ljubo li.  
a bykhomŭ my BRAT TVOEGO derzhali (Hyp.,  
p. 346); i tobě bylo vŭekhavshi v Kievŭ.  
BRAT MOEGO jati i ŝna moeg (Hyp., p. 373).

Since the modifiers in their old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases clearly indicated that the nouns were used in the objective function, there was no confusion between the subject and object relationship.

The remaining six instances of the old acc. case could have been interpreted as nom. sing. cases because they were morphologically similar. They appeared in the following sentences:

Kjurjane zhe poslasha. kŭ Gjurgevichju.  
i pojasha ou nego POSADNIKŭ k sobě. i posadi  
svoego ou nikhŭ posadnika (Hyp., p. 356);  
Rjurikŭ zhe sdouma s mouzhi svoimi. posla  
POSOLŭ ko Jaroslavou. khotja i svesti v  
ljubovŭ so Vsevolodomŭ i s Davydomŭ (Hyp.,  
p. 689); Rjurikŭ sdouma s mouzhi svoimi.  
i posla POSOLŭ ko svatou svoemou (Hyp.,  
p. 694); Danilovi zhe moljashchusja Bou.  
izbavi i Bŭ ot rouky silnykh. i obistoupi  
grad. i posla POSOLŭ. i vospi posolŭ glŝmŭ  
velikom (Hyp., p. 760); Toe zhe zimy Ko-  
ndratŭ. prisla POSOLŭ. po Vasilka (Hyp.,  
p. 808); Volodiměrŭ zhe otrjadivŭ ratŭ. i  
poėkha do Berestŭja. poslalŭ zhe bjashetŭ  
POSOLŭ naperedŭ. peredŭ ratŭju ko bratou  
svoemou Kondratou (Hyp. p. 884).

In these examples, the function of the old acc. case can be determined only by the context and by the position of the constituent members in a given sentence. Thus, it was possible to decipher the legitimate function

of the old acc. case.

In conclusion, concerning the substitution process in the common masc. sing. nouns referring to persons in the direct object function, one can state that the gen.-acc. case was regarded as the acc. case in the two Chronicles. This case appeared six hundred eleven times in both Chronicles, <sup>Y<sub>n</sub></sup> which the old acc. case occurred a total of seventy-seven times. Of this number, there were only nine instances without any modifiers. In view of the preponderant number of the gen.-acc. and the old acc. case with qualifiers, one can state that the subject and object relationship was well maintained. In addition, one can conclude that the animate-inanimate category also preserved its polarity in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in both Chronicles.

In the post-prepositional function, the common masc. sing. nouns referring to persons appeared twenty-one times in the gen.-acc. case in the Laurentian Chronicle. Some random samples of this gen.-acc. usage are:

jako<sup>1</sup>zhe Dvdz<sup>2</sup> glt<sup>3</sup> jadyi khlēbъ moi. vъzveli-  
chilīz estъ na mja lestъ. se bo lukavъstvo-  
vashe NA KNJAZJA svoego lestъju (La., p. 76);  
i mně pomozī Gi NA suprotivnago VRAGA (La.,  
p. 118); knjazъ bo Glēbъ i družhina ego  
idosha i stasha ou ēppa. a ljudbe vsi idosha  
ZA VOLKHVA. i by mjatezhъ velikъ (La., p. 181);  
posem zhe pride Feodosii s brateju. i prisē-  
djakhu ou nego. onomu zhe iznemagajushchju.  
vъzrēvъ NA IGUMENA rech (La., p. 189); se  
zhe pogybe ne ot brata no, ZA BRATA svoego  
(La., p. 202); posla PO ŠNA svoego (La.,

p. 217); poiti zhe khochem bit'sja ZA svoego KNJAZJA (La., p. 317); na l'eto vsede na kon' PRO SVATA svoego (La., p. 413); ouved'ev zhe boljubivyi epp' Kiril'. i knjagyni Vasilkova. poslasha PO KNJAZJA (La., p. 466).

In addition to these examples, there were six instances where the prepositions governed the old acc. case. The following phrases illustrate this fact:

i zapoveda Oleg' dan' dajati na .v. korabl' po .vi. griven' NA CHLVK' a v' korabli po m. mouzh' (La., p. 30); a knjagini nasha khoche ZA vash' KNJAZ' i ponesosha ja v lod'i (La., p. 56); da v velits'e chti pridu ZA vash' KNJAZ'. eda ne pustjat' mene ljud'e Kiev'stii (La., p. 57); i molvjashe vseгда. Jaropolku Svenald'. poidi NA BRAT' svoi. i primi volost' ego (La., p. 74); jako pade zhrebii NA SN' tvoi izvolish'a bo i b'zi sob'e. da stvorim' potrebu b'm' (La., p. 82); egda zhe pod'p'jakhut'sja nach'njakhut' roptati NA KNJAZ' (La., p. 126).

Since the prepositions governed the acc. case, there was no ambivalence about the function of the old acc. case. According to Thomson, "V' sochetaniyakh' s' predlogami ne trebovalos' rod.-vin., tak' kak' dvumyshlennost' sovershenno iskljuchaetsja".<sup>23</sup> For this reason, one may conclude that the use of prepositions encouraged the retention of the old acc. case and, at the same time, maintained both syntactical comprehensibility and the animate-inanimate category.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, there were forty-three occurrences of the gen.-acc. case and thirteen of the

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<sup>23</sup>Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezh'...", p. 247.

old acc. case after various prepositions. The following examples illustrate the use of the gen.-acc. case:

i se rekshi moljashes ZA ŠNA i za ljudi (Hyp., p. 52); mně pomozī GI NA suprotivnago VRAGA (Hyp., p. 103); poidi sjadi v Kyevě na stolě otne onь zhe rech ne budi to mně vьznjati ruky NA BRATA na starěishago (Hyp., p. 118); togo zhe lěta vedosha. Volodimerьnu. Ofimьju vь Ougry ZA KOROLJA (Hyp., p. 273); izhe svěshchasta svetь zolь sь Kijany NA KNJAZJA svoego (Hyp., p. 324); i tselova s nimь kfstь. povodja i sja na Kievь NA TESTJA svoego (Hyp., p. 686); vziraja jako NA samogo TVORTSA (Hyp., p. 704); v to vreja poshelь bjashe. Fridrikhь tsrь. NA GĚRTSIKA voinoju (Hyp., p. 776); onomu zhe lězhshchju v bolesti svoei. ouslishavь bratenь priezdaь. vostavь i sedě. i posla PO BRATA. on zhe pride k nemou i poklonis emou (Hyp., p. 901-902); poslalь bo bjashetь vozvoditь Tatarь NA SNOVTSJA svoego (Hyp., p. 930).

The old acc. sing. of various stem nouns appeared eight times after prepositions in the Hypatian Chronicle:

a knjagini nasha khochetь. ZA vashь KNJAZь. i ponesosha ja v lodbi (Hyp., p. 45); i rěsha prishedьsha poslanii k nemu. jako pade zhrebii NA ŠNь tvoi (Hyp., p. 69); i sii knjazь prolьja krovь svoju ZA BRAT svoeg (Hyp., p. 195); v tom zhe lětě vedena Peredьslava dschchi Stōpolcha vo Ougry ZA KOROLEVICHь (Hyp., p. 256); ibo so dьjavolomь tēla radi Moisieva protivjasja NA KNJAZь zhe Perьskii svobody radi (Hyp., p. 269); no boudemy vsi ZA odinь MUZHь (Hyp., p. 342); ashche kto polozhitь dshju svoju ZA DRUG svoi (Hyp., p. 585); mouzhi Galichkyi priimshe svetь Romanovь. sovokoupiyshe polky svoja. i outverdivshesja kr̄stomь. i vostasha NA KNJAZь svoi (Hyp., p. 660).

As in the Laurentian Chronicle so, too, in the Hypatian, the presence of various prepositions before the old acc. case eliminated the possibility of its confusion with the

nom. case, and thus upheld the differentiation between the subject and object cases.

It should be noted that several combinations of prepositions and the old acc. case of the masc. sing. animate nouns have survived as adverbial expressions in the modern Russian and Ukrainian languages, for example: 'vyjti zamuzh', 'na konь!', and 'vyjti zamihz', 'na kinь!', respectively.<sup>24</sup>

Further examination of the prepositions which governed the old acc. case of the common sing. nouns denoting persons has revealed that these nouns were also followed by proper appositive nouns. In this usage, one can discern three distinct phenomena, consisting of prepositions followed by common and proper nouns. In the first of these, both the common and proper nouns appeared in the gen.-acc. case; in the second, the common noun occurred in the old acc. case; while the proper noun was in the gen.-acc. case; finally; both nouns appeared in the old acc. case.

The following examples, of which there were twenty-eight in the Laurentian Chronicle, illustrate the use of this combination:

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<sup>24</sup>F. I. Buslaev, Istoricheskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka (Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1959), p. 216; Sprinchak, op. cit., p. 172; O. P. Bezpalyko. et al., Istorychna hrabatyka ukraíns'koi' movy (Kiev: Radjans'ka Shkola, 1957), p. 420.

Leonъ Diogenevichъ. zjatb Volodimerъ. ide NA TSRJA. ALEKSIJA (La., p. 291); i shelъ esi bylъ NA STRĚJA svoego NA MIKHALKA (La., p. 382); i prosi ou nego dshcheri ZA svoego SYNOTSA ZA SŤOSLAVA (La., p. 350); i posla Novugorodu PO ŠNA svoego KOSTJANTINA (La., p. 430); Tatarove poplĕnisha Volodimerъ. i poidosha NA velikogo KNJAZJA GEORGIJA (La., p. 464); Posla Jaroslavъ knjaz velikii PO BRATA svoego GEORGIJA (La., p. 467); Jaroslavъ velikyi ne bĕ vedalъ takogo vstanĕja NA ŠNA svoego milogo OLEKSANDRA (La., p. 478); knjazъ velikii Mĕstislavъ poide s Novogorodtsi NA ZJATJA svoego KNJAZJA JAROSLAVA (La., p. 492); Togo zhe lĕta khodi kĕzъ Jaroslavъ ratĕju k Chernigovu NA KNJAZJA velikogo MIKHAILA (La., p. 512); Posla Jaroslavъ PO BRATA svoego JURĚJA v Rostovъ (La., p. 523); pride ratĕju na Rjazanъ NA KNJAZJA VOLODIMERA Pronĕskogo (La., p. 534).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, similar phrases, consisting of various prepositions, <sup>with</sup> common and proper nouns in the gen.-acc. case, appeared thirty-nine times. They are exemplified by the following random sentences:

khochemъ zhe ZA ŐTSA vashego. ZA VJACHESLAVA i ZJATJA. i ZA BRATA tvoego ROSTISLAVA. i za vsju bratĕju. i golovy svoĕ slozhiti (Hyp., p. 427); rozgnevavĕsja NA STRĚJA svoego NA ROSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 519); i otpusti i v Rousĕ... ZA KNJAZJA ROSLAVA (Hyp., p. 658); i posla PO SVATA PO RJURIKA (Hyp., p. 680); zanezhe bjashetĕ pomoglĕ NA TESTJA svoego NA RJURIKA (Hyp., p. 700); vda dshchrĕ svoju menshouju ZA KOROLEVICHА ANDRĚJA (Hyp., p. 740); poimi dshsherĕ ZA ŠNA svoego LVA (Hyp., p. 809); povĕdĕ... NA SŤOVTSА svoego NA KONDRATA (Hyp., p. 880); khochju poslati PO BRATA svoego PO MĕSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 901).

Since both the common noun and its appositive proper noun appeared in the gen.-acc. case after various prepositions, the animate-inanimate opposition manifested itself explicitly in terms of syntactical clarity

based on the subject and object relationship.

There were three instances of the second combination, where the common noun was in the old acc. case, while the proper noun was in the gen.-acc., all of which appeared in the Hypatian Chronicle:

Izjaslvavъ zhe slysha to posla PO BRAT svoego  
PO ROSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 377); poja Jaroslavъ  
Galichъskyi knъzъ ZA SŃъ svoi ZA VOLODIMIRA  
(Hyp., p. 527); i poide NA BRAT NA svoego NA  
KONDRATA (Hyp., p. 883).

Although the common nouns retained their old acc. case, syntactical ambiguity was eliminated by the governing preposition and the presence of the adjective 'svoi'.

The last combination, consisting of the preposition 'ZA', followed by common and proper nouns in the old acc. case, was recorded twice in each of the two Chronicles. Interestingly, both Chronicles contained similar expressions in which the proper noun 'Malъ', referring to the Prince of the Drevljane tribe, was used in the old acc. case. In the Laurentian Chronicle the sentences read as follows:

poimemъ zhenu ego Volъgu ZA KNJAZъ svoi  
MALъ i Stōslava (La., p. 55); da poide  
ZA KNJAZъ nashъ ZA MALъ (La., p. 56).

Similar expressions in the Hypatian Chronicle were:

poimemъ zhenu ego Olgu ZA KNJAZъ svoi MALъ  
i Stōslava i stvorimъ emu jako zhe khoshchemъ  
(Hyp., p. 43); da idi ZA nashъ KNJAZъ ZA MALъ  
(Hyp., p. 44).

The retention of the old acc. case in both nouns after the preposition 'ZA' defies direct explanation, but its presence,

along with the modifiers, clearly indicated that the old acc. case functioned as the acc. It is unlikely that the use of the old acc. case-form in the proper noun 'Malъ' was intended to degrade, or scorn, Prince Malъ, whose men killed Olga's husband, Prince Igor. The phrases are actually direct utterances of the men belonging to Malъ's retinue, and it is inconceivable that they would refer to their Prince 'Malъ' in disparaging terms. If this were the scribe's intention of retaliation for the killing of Igorъ, it remains a mystery. Buslaev, however, suggested that this specific phrase should be interpreted as an adverbial expression similar to present fossilized phrases like 'vyjti zamuzh'.<sup>25</sup>

As in the previous function, the prepositions governing the gen.-acc. or the old acc. cases of either the common noun or its appositive proper nouns provided the necessary distinction between the nom. and acc. cases. For this reason, the adequate expression of the animate-inanimate opposition was not hampered.

In the fourth function, where the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons served as appositives to the proper nouns, the Laurentian Chronicle contained forty-five examples of the gen.-acc. cases of both nouns. This is demonstrated in the following randomly chosen sentences:

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<sup>25</sup>Buslaev, op. cit., p. 216.

i izbra Gb DVDA i postavi TSRJA nadb  
 Izlm̄ (La., p. 97); pervoe oubisha  
 BORISA. ŠNA Vjacheslavlja. pokhvaliv-  
 shagosja velmi (La., p. 201); i posla  
 Olegb JAROSLAVA BRATA svoego v storozhē  
 (La., p. 238); vodja s soboju i BRJA-  
 CHISLAVA ZJATJA svoego (La., p. 298);  
 Togo zh lēt vygnasha Rostovtsi. i Suzh-  
 dalbtsi. LEONA EPSPA (La., p. 349);  
 v to bo vremja zaprētilb bē POLIKARPA  
 IGUMENA Pecherb̄skogo (La., p. 354);  
 i podmolvi GLEBA Rjazanb̄skago KNJAZJA.  
 zjatja svoego (La., p. 382); prosja  
 JAROSLAVA Volodimeriča SVOJAKA ego  
 (La., p. 406); i MSTISLA SVATA knjazha  
 jasha (La., p. 413); yygnasha Novgorodtsi  
 JAROSLAVA. SVOJAKA knzha iz Novagoroda  
 (La., p. 414); Togo zh lēt Knjaz Gjurgi.  
 snb Vsevolozhb̄. izvedb SIMONA IGUMEMA  
 blzhenago (La., p. 438).

The same combination of proper and appositive  
 common nouns appeared ninety-five times in the  
 Hypatian Chronicle. Some examples include the following:

i oumre ostavivb PETRA ŠNA svoego knjazhit  
 (Hyp., p. 34); Posla Jaroslavb VOLODIMIRA.  
 ŠNA svoego na Grēki (Hyp., p. 142); i nareche  
 imb JAKOVA PROZVUTERA (Hyp., p. 177);  
 Privede JANKA MITROPOLITA (Hyp., p. 200);  
 i ostavikhb tu MIKHALIA KNJAZJA vashego  
 (Hyp., p. 272-273); posla.kb Izjaslavou.  
 Mb̄stislavichju VOLODISLAVA ZJATJA svoego  
 (Hyp., p. 321); Djurgi zhe posla k nemu  
 pomochb ANDRĚJA BRATA emu (Hyp., p. 398);  
 i potomb posla Izjaslavb JAROSLAVA ŠNA  
 svoeg Volodimirju knzhitb (Hyp., p. 468);  
 LEONA zhe EPSPA vzbvratil opjatb (Hyp.,  
 p. 520); i pobēdi Olegb STOSLAVICHA SHJURINA  
 svoego (Hyp., p. 602-603); prosja ou nikhb  
 Mb̄STISLAVA Romanovicha SVATA svoego (Hyp.,  
 p. 699); a ROSTSLAVA ŠNA svoego ostavi v  
 Galichi (Hyp., p. 777).

From these examples, it is evident that various common  
 nouns, appearing in the appositive function with the  
 proper nouns, appeared exclusively in the gen.-acc.

case. This fact demonstrates that the animate-inanimate opposition maintained its status in the appositive common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.

In addition to the above objective functions, the common nouns were also followed by an appositive proper noun. In this context, one can discern four combinations of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in both nouns.

The gen.-acc. case in both the common and proper nouns occurred one hundred-eighty seven times in the Laurentian Chronicle. Examples of this usage are:

i postavilъ es EPSPA. i NAMESNIKA vъ sebě ANDRONIKA Slovenъskou jazyku (La., p. 28); shedshe oubiite BRATA moego BORISA (La., p. 132; i posade SNA svoego VOLODIMERA Nověgorodě (La., p. 150); no pslasha Vsevolozhju i MITROPOLITA NIKOLU (La., p. 263); i posadista POSADNIKA Stōpolcha VASILJA (La., p. 272); poimi BRATA svoego VASILKA k sobě (La., p. 274); dai ny SHJURINA svoego MSTISLAVICHA (La., p. 308); Prinese blgověrnaja knjagyni Elena KNJAZJA JAROPOLKA iz grobnitsi (La., p. 312); Izjaslavъ postavil MITROPOLITA KLIMA. kalugera. Rusina (La., p. 315); Posadi Kyevě STRĚJA svoego GLĚBA (La., p. 355); toe zhe zimy posla Dvdъ i-Smolinъska SNOVTSA svoego MSTISLAVA. SVATA velikogo knjazja VSEVOLODA. v pomočъ zjatju svoemu na Vitepeskъ (La., p. 413); posla MOUZHA svoeg MIKHAILA Borisovicha (La., p. 420); tu i dozhda OTSA svoego OLEKSANDRA (La., p. 474). Poslasha ARKHIEPSPA MITRCFANA i POSADNIKA IVANKA (La., p. 503); i poznasta BRATA svoego VOLODIMERA (La., p. 516); toe zhe oseni oubisha v Ordě KNZJA OLEKSANDRA MIKHAILOVICHA. i SNA ego FEODORA (La., p. 530-531).

Similar combinations of the common nouns and the appositive proper nouns were recorded two hundred seventy-five times in the Hypatian Chronicle where,

among others, the following examples were in evidence:

posadi ŠNA svoego VOLODIMIRA (Hyp., p. 138);  
 i narekosha v sobě IGUMENA PROKHORA popina  
 (Hyp., p. 274); Olygovichъ Vsevolodъ ja STRЪJA  
 svoego JAROSLAVA (Hyp., p. 290); posla...  
 Belogorodskogo EPSPA FEODORA i Pecherъskago  
 IGUMENA FEDOSA i mouzhi svoi (Hyp., p. 366);  
 pozva i BRATA k sobě. VOLODIMIRA i ŠNA svoego  
 MЪSTISLAVA i BORISA Gorodenъskago (Hyp.,  
 p. 413); Ouvede Izjaslavъ stryja svoeg i OTSA  
 svoeg VJACHESLAVA ou Kievъ (Hyp., p. 418);  
 vidivъ zhe Vjacheslavъ SNŌVTSJA svoeg ROSTISLAVA  
 (Hyp., p. 423); i poslusha OTROKA KUZMINA nochъ  
 (Hyp., p. 501); Stōslavъ zhe posla BRATA svoego  
 JAROSLAVA (Hyp., p. 526); i prisla Volodimirъ  
 DЪJACHъKA IMORMYZHA (Hyp., p. 535); i jasha  
 Polovetsъkogo KNJAZJA KOBANA (Hyp., p. 672);  
 i posla s neju ŠNA svoe starěishego MIKHAILA  
 (Hyp., p. 862).

Although the examples from the two chronicles indicate that the common masc. sing. and appositive proper nouns appeared predominantly in the gen.-acc. case, there were several exceptions to this rule. These deviations constitute the second combination of the common and proper nouns, where the former noun retained its old acc. case-form. The Laurentian Chronicle had eight examples of this use:

vъdavъ emu ŠNъ svoi na rutsě. IGORJA (La., p. 22);  
 i posla Volodimerъ ŠNъ svoi ROMANA. v Volo-  
 dimerъ knjazhitъ (La., p. 292); v to zhe  
 let posla Volodimerъ ŠNъ svoi drugyi ANDRĚJA.  
 knjazhitъ Volodimerju (Ibid.); a Glěbu  
 knjazju Kyeveъskomu. v to vremja bolnu sushchju.  
 posla BRAT svoego MIKHALKA s bratom svoimъ  
 Vsevolodom po Polovtsikh (La., p. 363); i  
 rekosha vsi sobě ljubo Mikhalka knjazja sobě  
 nalezēmъ i BRAT ego VSEVOLODA (La., p. 378);  
 juzhe bē pustil sna Rjurikova i BRAT eg VOLC-  
 DIMIRA (La., p. 420); Vugnasha Novogorodtsi  
 knžja Vsevoloda Mstislavicha iz Nova goroda:  
 Poslasha arkhiep̄spa. i posadnika Ivanka. k  
 velikomu knjazju Jurъju Vsevolodichъju.

i vda imъ SNъ svoi KNJAZJA VSEVOLDA. Togda knjazъ velike Jurbi prisla SNъ svoi KNJAZJA STOSLAVA v pomočъ Novogorodu (La., p. 503).

Since the common nouns SNъ and BRAT were followed by the possessive adjectives 'svoi' and 'ego', as well as by the proper appositive nouns in the gen.-acc. case, they were regarded as acc. According to Shakhmatov, such combinations of adjectives and proper nouns were conducive to the retention of the old acc. case; they caused no syntactical confusion.<sup>26</sup>

In the Hypatian Chronicle, there were also eight examples in which the common nouns, followed by the appositive proper nouns in the gen.-acc. case, were represented by the old acc. case:

Vsevolodъ zhe posadi POSADNIK. RATIBORA. Tmoutorokanju (Hyp., p. 196); i stojashe na Dněprě Vsevolodъ. i posla Vsevolodъ BRAT svoego. STOSLAVA s polky kъ Perejaslavlju (Hyp., p. 305); Izjaslavъ zhe se slyshavъ. posla BRAT svoego ROSTISLAVA (Hyp., p. 330); Olgovichju. zhalъ bo ny estъ BRAT nashego derzhishi. IGORJA a onъ ouzhe chernetsъ i skimnikъ (Hyp., p. 346); posla k nimъ MOUZHъ svoi OLSTINA olezcha. (Hyp., p. 635); ozhe esmy oustali na ratъ. zhalъ bo ny estъ BRAT svoego IGORJA (Hyp., p. 364); Kazimirъ zhe pristavja k nemou MOUZHъ svoi MIKLAJA (Hyp., p. 666); i s nimъ poslalъ POSOLъ svoi VJACHESLAVA Lysogo (Hyp., p. 719).

The presence of the modifier 'svoi', which appeared in the old acc. and the gen.-acc. case, as well as with the appositive proper nouns also in the

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<sup>26</sup>Shakhmatov, op. cit., p. 51.

gen.-acc. case, indicated that the old acc. case functioned as acc. In this context, the retention of the old acc. case caused no syntactical confusion, and the animate-inanimate category maintained its opposition.

In the third combination of the common masc. sing. and the appositive proper nouns, the former noun appeared in the gen.-acc. case, while the latter was represented by the old acc. case. This single example was found in the Laurentian Chronicle:

Izjaslavъ zhe poslavъ brata svoego Rostislava.  
otja ou nego gorody opjat. i posadniki isko-  
vavъ privede. i Turov'skago ep'spa Jakima. SNA  
zhe svoego JAROSLAVъ posadi Turově (La., p. 314).

In this particular instance, the acc. case function of the appositive proper noun is easily ascertained from the context. In the Hypatian Chronicle (p. 330), Radziwill and the Academy Chronicles (La., Remarks under "e", p. 378), as well as in the Khlebnikov and Pogodin Chronicles (Hyp., p. 330, Footnote No. 58), the proper noun 'Jaroslavъ' appeared in the gen.-acc. case in a similar context. The retention of the old acc. case in the appositive proper noun 'Jaroslavъ' in the Laurentian Chronicle may be explained as an oversight on the part of the scribe.

The fourth combination of the common and proper appositive nouns also appeared only in the Laurentian Chronicle. In this context, both nouns--common and proper -- were recorded in the old acc. case. The three sentences read as follows:

sego zhe Mikhaila i BRAT ego VSEVOLOD  
 izbraz Bъ i staja Btsa (La., p. 378);  
 a vdaju vy SNъ moi starëishii KNJAZъ  
 KONSTJANTINъ (La., p. 489); i prisla  
 knzъ velikii Mstislavъ Romanovichъ is  
 Kievâ SNъ svoi VSEVOLODъ v Novъ gorodъ  
 i reche (La., p. 502).

Although both nouns appeared in the old acc. case, the modifiers 'ego' and 'svoi' indicated that the common noun was in the objective case which, in turn, specified the acc. function of the proper appositive noun, because the two nouns functioned as a single objective unit.

On the basis of the examination of the four discernible combinations of the common masc. sing. and appositive proper nouns in the objective function, it is evident that in the majority of instances one or the other noun appeared in the gen.-acc. case. Such combinations eliminated syntactical confusion regarding the subject and object relationship. In other cases, the presence of the modifier 'svoi', as well as the context, enabled one to recognize the objective function of the old acc. case of the common as well as of the proper appositive nouns. Since the above use of the common and the appositive proper noun was numerically limited and did not constitute a norm, the animate-inanimate category encountered minimum difficulty in expressing itself adequately in the context of double acc. cases of the common masc. sing. and the appositive proper nouns.

As a concluding remark pertaining to the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate opposition in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, the following observations can be made.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the use of the gen.-acc. and the old acc. cases as a direct object stood in a ratio of nine to one, while in the Hypatian it was seven to one. These ratios indicate that the substitution process was proceeding at a slower pace in the Hypatian Chronicle. In the post-prepositional combination, the gen.-acc. and the old acc. cases appeared in a ratio of three to one in both Chronicles. The use of the common and appositive proper nouns after prepositions showed that the gen.-acc. case predominated in the two Chronicles. At the same time, there were three examples in the Laurentian Chronicle, and two in the Hypatian, where both nouns were represented by the old acc. cases after prepositions. Furthermore, only the Hypatian Chronicle had three examples of the old acc. case in the common noun which was modified by the proper appositive in the gen.-acc. case after prepositions. Again, the Hypatian Chronicle showed a somewhat conservative tendency in acquiring the gen.-acc. case after prepositions. In the context where the common noun appeared in the appositive function in the objective capacity, both nouns

were represented by the gen.-acc. case in both Chronicles. The gen.-acc. case was used overwhelmingly in the common masc. sing. and proper appositive nouns which appeared in the objective capacity. Minor exceptions were found in both Chronicles. The Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles had seven and eight instances, respectively, of the common nouns appearing in the old acc. case. Finally, the Laurentian Chronicle exhibited one instance where the appositive proper noun was recorded in the old acc. case, and one example where both the common and appositive proper nouns were represented by the old acc. case.

These considerations lead one to conclude that the animate-inanimate category had almost attained its objective and full status in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons in the two Chronicles.

TABLE II

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND THE GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE COMMON MASC. SING. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING PERSONS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

TYPES OF NOUNS IN OBJECTIVE FUNCTION	C A S E S	FREQUENCY	
		LA.	HYP.
1. COMMON NOUNS AS DIRECT OBJECT	a. Acc=Gen	233	378
	b. Acc=Nom	23	54
2. PREPOSITIONS PLUS COMMON NOUNS	a. Acc=Gen	21	43
	b. Acc=Nom	6	8
3. PREPOSITIONS PLUS COMMON NOUNS PLUS PROPER IN APPOSITION	a. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Gen	28	39
	b. Acc=Nom plus Acc=Gen	0	3
	c. Acc=Nom plus Acc=Nom	2	2
4. PROPER NOUNS PLUS COMMON IN APPOSITION	a. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Gen	45	95
	b. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Nom	0	0
5. COMMON NOUNS PLUS PROPER IN APPOSITION	a. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Gen	187	275
	b. Acc=Nom plus Acc=Gen	8	8
	c. Acc=Gen plus Acc=Nom	1	0
	d. Acc=Nom plus Acc=Nom	4	0

## CHAPTER V

### ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE MASC. PLU. -O-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS

#### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the substitution process in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

In the late Common Slavic, OCS, and early East Slavic periods, the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -o-stem nouns were morphologically different. Beginning with the thirteenth century, however, the nom. and acc. case-endings of the masc. plu. nouns were undergoing simplification on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems. This meant that the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the -o-stems were identical, and this could have caused syntactical confusion with respect to the subject and object relationship. For this reason, the use of the gen. plu. case for the old acc. case was introduced as a means to differentiate the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons.

1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. Plu. -o-Stem Nouns Denoting Persons in the OCS and Early East Slavic Texts

In the OCS monuments, the nom. plu. case of the -o-stem nouns was represented by the case-ending -I: rab-I. The acc. plu. case had an ending -Y: rab-Y. Since the nom. and acc. plu. cases of these nouns were dissimilar, there was no syntactical confusion concerning the subject and object relationship. At the same time, the animate-inanimate category utilized these cases for its expression. Therefore, the substitution process was unknown in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns signifying persons in the OCS monuments.<sup>1</sup>

The early East Slavic texts exhibit the OCS endings in the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -o-stem nouns to a large extent. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, there appeared a tendency to unify the distribution of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings according to the 'hard' and 'soft' final consonants of the stem.<sup>2</sup> This meant that the nom. plu. ending -I of the -o-stems was replaced by the ending -Y. The basis for this was

<sup>1</sup>Nikiforov, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>2</sup>The views of scholars concerning the unification of the nom. and acc. case-endings in the masc. plu. nouns were discussed by B.I. Skupskij in Sovpadenie form imenitel'nogo i vinitel'nogo padezhej mnozhestvennogo chisla u sushchestvitel'nykh muzhskogo roda v drevnerusskom jazyke (Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchěnoj stepeni kandidata filologičeskikh nauk), (Moscow: Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Institut Jazykoznanija, 1953), pp. 5-9. (Hereafter referred to as Sovpadenie..., (Avtoreferat)).

analogy of the nom. plu. case-ending -y of the fem. -a-stem nouns. Moreover, the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y in the -o-stems was supported by the tendency to have 'hard' vowel endings in all oblique cases. In addition, the use of the ending -Y in the nom. plu. cases after the velars K, G, and KH, analogically supported the establishment of the ending -Y in the nom. plu. case of the -o-stem nouns.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of the simplification tendency of case-endings in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns, and the supporting analogies, the nom. and the acc. cases were identical in these nouns. This process of levelling of the nom. and acc. case-endings of the -o-stem nouns was completed toward the end of the fourteenth century in the East Slavic monuments.<sup>4</sup>

Although the simplification of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings in the -o-, -jo- and -i-stems on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems introduced the uniformity of the respective case-endings, it had unfavourable repercussions on the subject and object relationship. The nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the above stem nouns became

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<sup>3</sup>L. A. Bulakhovskij, Istoricheskiĭ kommentariĭ k russskomu literaturnomu jazyku (Kiev: Radjans'ka Shkola, 1958), pp. 81, 138-139, 149.

<sup>4</sup>Sobolevskij, op. cit., pp. 194-196; Skupskij, Sovpadenie..., (Avtoreferat), pp. 7, 10-11.

identical, and it proved difficult to determine the subject and object opposition from the viewpoint of syntax. Furthermore, the lack of distinct nom. and acc. cases affected adversely the animate-inanimate category, which relied for its expression on different nom. and acc. cases. Therefore, it is in this context -- the identity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases and the need to differentiate the subject and object -- that the substitution appeared in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns referring to persons. Skupskij elaborated this point in the following words:

... stanovitsja sovershenno jasnym, pochemu razvivalas' kategorija odushevlennosti s tozhdestvom form im. i vin. padezhej mnozhestvennogo chisla, vznikshim vsledstvie sovpadenija étikh form, svjazany byli opredelennye neudobstva, osobenno esli v roli prjamogo dopolnenija upotrebljalis' odushevlennye imena sushchestvitel'nye. S razvitiem zhe kategorii odushevlennosti neudobstvo éto utratilos'.<sup>5</sup>

On the basis of this statement and the above considerations, one can state that the substitution process in the masc. plu. animate nouns was motivated by syntactical reasons in order to restore morphological distinction between the nom. and acc.

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<sup>5</sup>B. I. Skupskij, "Sovpadenie form imenitel'nogo i vinitel'nogo padezhej mnozhestvennogo chisla u sushchestvitel'nykh muzhskogo roda v drevnerusskom jazyke", (Stat'ja pervaja), in Dagestanskij gosudarstvennyj universitet im. V. I. Lenina, Istoriko-filologicheskij fakul'tet, Uchënye Zapiski, IV (1960), Vyp. I, 279. (Hereafter referred to as "Sovpadenie form...", (Stat'ja pervaja).

plu. cases. The substitution process was motivated by the animate-inanimate opposition, which depended for its expression on the different nom. and acc. cases. Like the masc. sing. animate nouns, the masc. plu. animate nouns utilized the gen. case rather than the old acc. case in restoring the animate-inanimate category.<sup>6</sup>

Referring to the substitution process in the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons, Kedajtene asserted that:

V originalnykh pamjatnikakh drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti XII-XIII vv. suschestvitel'nye, oboznachajushchie lits, vo mnozhestvennom chisle otmecheny tol'ko v staroj forme vinitel'nogo padezha. Pervye sluchai upotreblenija form roditel'nogo-vinitel'nogo padezha nabljudаем v pamjatnikakh, datirovannykh nachalom XIV veka.<sup>7</sup>

In view of this, one can conclude that, in the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons, the animate-inanimate category expressed itself through the nom. and acc. cases in the early and middle East Slavic texts. The Laurentian and

<sup>6</sup>It should be noted that the gen. plu. case of the -o-stems was originally represented by the ending -ъ. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the -o-stem nouns began to acquire the new gen. plu. case-ending -OVъ which came from the similar case of the -u-stems. The earliest recorded example of this case-ending appeared in a copy of the Charter of Ivan Kalita (1327-1328) in this phrase: "pozhalovalъ esmъ SOKOLNIKOVъ pecherskikhъ". (Sobolevskij, op. cit., p. 200).

<sup>7</sup>Kedajtene, "Razvitie form roditel'nogo-vinitel'nogo padezha...", p. 168.

Hypatian Chronicles, compiled toward the end of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, exhibit the initial stage of the substitution process. It will be analyzed in the next section of the chapter.

2. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. Plu. -o-Stem Nouns Denoting Persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

The simplification of the plu. case-endings on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems resulted in the morphological similarity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the masc. -o-stem nouns signifying persons. Since this process was not complete at the time of the compilation of the two Chronicles, the nom. plu. case of these nouns was still represented by the old case-ending -I, and only sporadically by the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y. The acc. plu. had an old case-ending -Y (occasionally the case-ending -I after velars),<sup>88</sup> as well as the case-ending -I, which was similar to the old nom. plu. case-ending -I. In addition, the acc. plu. case was also represented by the old gen. plu. case with the ending -ѣ, and by the new gen. plu. case with the ending -OVѣ. The use of the gen. plu. cases and the plu. case-ending -I in the acc. function by the -o-stem nouns was motivated by the syntactical consideration and the animate-inanimate

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<sup>88</sup> Hereafter, the case-ending -I, appearing after velars, will be placed in brackets after case-ending -Y, thus: -Y (-I).

category to have different nom. and acc. plu. cases in the nouns denoting persons.

In the Laurentian Chronicle there were one hundred twenty-seven examples of the old acc. plu. case-endings -Y (-I) which were identical with the new nom. plu. Examples of this usage were:

se slysha tšr̄b̄ Mikhail̄ i sozva FILOSCFY vsja (La., p. 26); Igor̄b̄ zhe prizva SLY grech̄b̄skija (La., p. 53); i nacha posylati PRRKI gl̄ja im̄b̄ (La., p. 98); navede B̄b̄ potop̄b̄ ne zemlju i potopi CHLVKY vodoju, (La., p. 105); i s̄zyvaše BOLJARY svoja i POSADNIKY star̄eishiny po sv̄em gradom̄b̄. i ljudi mnogoy (La., p. 125); vstavshe ljud̄be izbisha EFPY. i POPY i BJARY svoja (La., p. 150); a KHOLOPY nasha vydaita i SMERDY (La., p. 274); privede emu B̄b̄ iz̄b̄ vs̄ekh zeml̄b̄ vs̄e MASTERY (La., p. 351); a Volodimertsi i družhina povedosha KOLODNIKY (La., p. 382); a ty derzhish̄b̄ VOROGY svōe prosty (La., p. 385); B̄b̄ bo kaznit̄b̄ RABY svoja napastmi razlichnymi (La., p. 405); i posla POSADNIKY po vs̄em gorodom Kyev̄b̄skym (La., p. 427); i otol̄e poslasha POSLY svoja (La., p. 514).

Similar instances in the Hypatian Chronicle were represented one hundred eighty-one times, some of which were:

Roman̄b̄ zhe s̄bra bojary i SANOVNIKY (Hyp., p. 35); Oni zhe nachasha PRRKY izbivati (Hyp., p. 85); slyshav̄b̄ zhe Jaroslav̄b̄ V̄b̄L̄b̄K̄HVY (Hyp., p. 135); nacha prizivati B̄ĚSY v̄b̄ khraminu svoju (Hyp., p. 168); no B̄b̄ v̄est̄b̄ izbaviti CHLVKY bl̄gochtivyja svoja oto l̄bsti (Hyp., p. 229); ne veremja nyne pogubiti SMER̄b̄DY ot rol̄bi (Hyp., p. 265); i posla Gjurgi i St̄oslav̄b̄ POSLY svoja (Hyp., p. 377); i s̄zva muzha ottsa svoego Vjachslava i TIVUNY i KLJUCHNIKY (Hyp., p. 473); Ozhe outaiyb̄sja ikh̄b̄ pusti v navorop̄b̄. SEDE-L̄b̄NIKY svōe i koshch̄ēe (Hyp., p. 540); s̄beri POPY vsi obolokshe v rizu (Hyp., p. 593); i sozva na piro t̄b̄... iny EFPY IGCUMENY (Hyp., p. 634); izhe idjakhout̄b̄ poimati VNOKY

Stōslavlě (Hyp., p. 680); sobravshe SMERDY  
 mnogy p̄sh̄tse (Hyp., p. 797); i sozva  
 KALOUGERY i mniskii chin̄ (Hyp., p. 806).

In view of the fact that the old nom. plu. case of the -o-stems was represented by the case-ending -I, and only marginally by the new case-ending -Y, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y was still regarded as the norm. For this reason, the syntactical relationship of the subject and object was determined on the basis of the different nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -o-stem nouns in both Chronicles. Simultaneously, the animate-inanimate category also depended on this distinction.

As a result of the simplification process of the nom. and acc. cases on the basis of the 'hard' and 'soft' stems, there were instances of the new nom. plu. case with the ending -Y, which was identical with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y. This new nom. plu. case-ending -Y appeared twice in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following sentences:

ousrětošha bo mja SLY ot bratja moeja  
 na Volzě. rěsha pot̄snisja k nam̄ (La.,  
 p. 241); ole strashno chjudo i divno  
 brat̄e. poidosha sn̄ve na ot̄sa. a ot̄si  
 na d̄eti. brat na brata RABY na ḡšnu. a  
 ḡšn̄ na raby (La., p. 494).

Similar examples were found nine times in the Hypatian Chronicle:

Se slyshav̄ Mikhail̄ t̄srb. s̄z̄va filosofy  
 vsja. i skaza im̄ rěchi vsja Sloven̄skykh̄  
 knjaz̄. i rkoshja FILOSOFY. est̄ muzh̄ v  
 Seluni. imenem̄ Lev̄ (Hyp., p. 18); my ot  
 roda Ruskago SLY. i gost̄be Ivor̄ sol̄  
 Igorev̄ velikago knjazja Ruskago. o obv̄chii

SĹI V̄uefastŕ Stŕŕslavlŕ sŕna Igoreva (Hyp., p. 35); noshakhu SĹY pechati zlat. a gostie serebrjany (Hyp., pp. 36-37); posylati gramotu kŕ tsŕrstvu vashemu. izhe posylaemi byvajutŕ ot nikhŕ POSLY (Hyp., p. 37); i egda vŕznoshashesja na nŕbo. OUCŔNKY poklonishas emu (Hyp., p. 91); Vol/di/dimerŕ zhe otvergŕ viry i nacha kazniti. razboiniky i i reŕsha EPSPY i startsi ratŕ mnoga (Hyp., pp. 111-112); vsi bo Ougre. i Ljakhove oubŕeni bysha. a inii jati bysha. a inii bŕgajushche po zemlŕ. istoposha. drouzii zhe SMERDY izbŕeni bysha (Hyp., p. 738); samŕ bo ne smŕ ŕkhati k Galichju. povedakhoutŕ bo emou. VOLŕKŔVY Ougorŕskyja. jako ouzrŕvshou Galichŕ. ne byti emou zhivou (Hyp., p. 748); i plakashasja po nemŕ. Volodimerchi. pominajushch ego dobroserdŕe do sebe. pache i SLOUGY ego plakakhousja po nemŕ slezami oblivajushchi liche svoe (Hyp., p. 919).

Although the new nom. plu. case-ending resembled morphologically the old acc. plu. case-ending, the true function of the nom. case was ascertained from the context in both Chronicles. Context was also instrumental in upholding the animate-inanimate opposition in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns whose nom. and acc. cases were identical.

As the old nom. plu. case-ending -I was being replaced by the new ending -Y, which was the same as the old acc. plu. case-ending, there was an attempt on the part of the animate-inanimate category to differentiate the nom. and acc. plu. cases. This was achieved by utilizing the nom. plu. ending -OVE of the -u-stems for the nom. plu. case of the -o-stems. This case appeared seventeen times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

ne točbju bo za zhivota ego. taka i takovaja sotvorisha. BĚSOVE ego radi. no po sm̄rti ego prebyvajushche ou groba ego. znamenia tvorjakhou (La., p. 40); ovi bo PCPOVE odinoju zhenoju. ozhe- nĕv̄sja sluzhat̄ (La., p. 116); POPOVE zhe stojashche ml̄tvy tvorjakhou (La., p. 117 and pp. 164, 202, 221, 217, 313, 377, 437, 453, 456, 467, 474, 499); ego zhe dĕtishcha vyvolokosha RYBOLOVE v̄ nevodĕ (La., p. 164); pride iz Ordy knjaz̄ Mikhajlo Jaroslavich̄. a s nim̄ POSLOVE Taitemer̄ (La., p. 529).

The Hypatian Chronicle exhibited eighteen examples of the nom. plu. case with the ending -OVE (-Ě), as the following sentences demonstrate:

i takovaja stvorisha BĚSOVĚ ego radi. no i po sm̄rti ego prebyvajushcha v̄ groba ego. znamen̄bja tvorjakhou vo imja ego (Hyp., p. 30); ne v odino s̄glashenie vĕru no razdno ovii bo POPOVĚ odinoju zhenoju ozhe- nivsja sluzhat̄ (Hyp., p. 101 and pp. 102, 212, 702, 897, 919); vzešhe zhe tĕlo ego privezoshā v lodbi... povezoshā i s pesn̄mi. POPOVE i chernorizitsi. i ponesoshā v̄ grad̄ (Hyp., p. 193); sobrashasja ep̄spi igumeni so chernoriztsi. i POPOVE i bojare. i prostii ljud̄be vzešhe tĕlo ego so obych- nimi pesmi (Hyp., p. 208 and pp. 327, 441, 548, 548, 684, 695, 695); v to zhe veremja. pridoshā k nem Brodnichi. i Polovtsi pri- doshā k nemou mnozi. OUEVE ego (Hyp., p. 342).

The use of the nom. plu. case-ending -OVE by the masc. -o-stem nouns signifying persons helped to differentiate the nom. and acc. cases which had identical case-ending -Y.

In addition to the old acc. plu. case, which predominated in both Chronicles, there were instances of the gen.-acc. cases. In the Laurentian Chronicle,

the gen.-acc. case with the ending -ъ appeared five times:

i pomjanu Olegъ konъ svoi. i bĕ zhe postavilъ kormiti. i ne v sedati na nъ. bĕ bo voprashal volъkhvovъ i KUDESNIKъ. ot chego mi essmertъ (La., p. 38); oubiistvodĕiitsi. skvernotvorja-shche. i gnĕvlivi i pache estĕstva. li nutrĕnĕ-ishimъ strane ikhъ CHĻVKъ jadushche i stranĕstvu-jushchikhъ oubivakhu (La., p. 15); Jaropolkъ zhe khotjashe iti na Vseloda. poslushavъ zlykh SVĚTNIKъ (La., p. 205); Oleg zhe vĕspriimъ smyslъ. bui i slovesa velichava. rech sitse nĕs mene lĕpo suditi ep̄spu. li igumenom. li smerdom. i ne vĕskhotĕ iti k bratoma svoima. poslushavъ zlykh SVĚTNIKъ (La., p. 230); no slushashetъ Dobryny Dolgago. Matĕja Shibusovicha. i inykh zlykh CHĻVK (La., p. 381); i tu abĕ prokljatyi Glĕbъ s bratom. izemĕsha mecha svoja nachasta sĕch prezhe knjazi. tazhe boljary. i slugy ikhъ mnogo mnozhstvo. odinĕkh knjazii .s. a prochikh bojarъ. i SLUGъ be-shchisla izbi (La., p. 441).

Similar examples in the Hypatian Chronicle occurred six times:

poidevĕ iskatъ LAPONTNIKъ (Hyp., p. 71); vĕskhodjatъ zhe i podъ nbo slushajushche vashikhъ Bъ (Hyp., p. 169); Jaropolku khotjashchju na Vsevoloda poslavshju emu zlykh SVĚTNIKъ (Hyp., p. 197); i ne voskhotĕ iti kъ bratoma svoima poslushavъ zlykhъ SVĚTNIKъ (Hyp., p. 220); i vĕprosisha KOLODNIKъ glĕshche (Hyp., p. 268); postavi na prostranĕ noze RABъ tvoikhъ (Hyp., p. 712).

The use of the old gen. plu. case with the ending -ъ in the acc. function in the above sentences indicates that the substitution process, which was present in the masc. sing. nouns, had also extended itself into the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons.

The new gen. plu. case with the ending -OVъ in the acc. function appeared five times in the Laurentian Chronicle as shown in the following sentences:

i pomjanu Olegъ konъ svoi... be bo vъprashal VOLĀKHVOVъ i kudesnikъ (La., p. 38); ozhe sutъ vsi v sapozekh. sinъ dani namъ ne dajati. poidemъ iskatъ LAPOTNIKOVъ (La., p. 84); on zhe rech to katsi sutъ bži vashi kde zhivutъ /on zhe reche/ v bezdnakhъ. sutъ zhe obrazomъ cherni. krylaty khvosty imushche. vskhodiatъ zhe i podъ nbomъ slushajushche vashikh BOVъ (La., p. 179); protivjashchesja EU i Štai Btse. i pravde Bande. slushajushche zlykh chlvkъ RAZVRATNIKOVъ (La., p. 378); on zhe outaivisja vsekh muzhii i POSLOVъ Vsevolozhikh (La., p. 404).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the new gen. case in the acc. function in the masc. plu. nouns occurred only twice:

be bo vъproshalъ VOLĀKHVOVъ kudesnikъ (Hyp., p. 28); rekushche khochetъ pogubiti smerdy i rolju smerdomъ. no se divno mja brate. ozhe SMERDOVъ zhaluete i ikhъ konii (Hyp., p. 265).

These examples further indicate the presence of the substitution process in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons. The two gen. plu. cases with the endings -ъ and -OVъ were utilized for the purpose of eliminating morphological identity in the nom. and acc. plu. cases in the above nouns. The adoption of the two gen. plu. cases for the acc. function was motivated by the avoidance of syntactical ambivalence with respect to the subject and object relationship, and the animate-inanimate opposition, which relied on the distinct nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns.

In addition to the old acc. case with the ending -Y, and the gen.-acc. represented by the endings -ъ and -OVъ, the old nom. case-form with the ending -I appeared in the

acc. function in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns. Instances of this use were limited. In the Laurentian Chronicle there were five examples of the old nom. case in the acc. function:

jako Valam i Saoulъ. i Kaiafa. i BĚSI paky izgnasha. jako Ijuda (La., p. 41); i spekh-nusha Olga s mostu v debrъ. padakhu ljudъe mnozi. i oudavisha koni CHĚVTSI (La., p. 74); egda zhe izbi bojarъ i povelě PALOMNITSI tě pustiti (La., p. 481); a shto ljude: staryja i molodyja. IGUMENI i popy. i DĚJAKONI. i chernъtsi. i chernitsi... to vse issěkosha (La., p. 517).

The Hypatian Chronicle also revealed five examples of the old nom. case in the acc. function:

i naotrěja prizva Igorъ SĚLI (Hyp., p. 42); i rech Stōslavъ prochъ zrja. pokhoronite. OTROCHI zhe Stoslavli (Hyp., p. 58); i padakhu ljude mnozi s mosta i oudavisha i koni i CHĚVTSI (Hyp., p. 62); i sozva dkhvnyi tyi pirъ. epspa Andrejana Jurěevskogo... igoumena stgo Mikhaila Vydobychъskogo. i prochii IGOUMENI. i chernorizъtsi. i prozvoutery (Hyp., p. 707); Danilъ zhe i Vasilko sobrasha Ljakhy mnogy. idosta Kyevou so Pakoslavomъ. vovodoju. i Oleksandro s nima. srětosha zhe POSLI ot Volodimera. i Mikhaila (Hyp., p. 754).

The examples of the old nom. plu. case with the ending -I in the acc. function can be interpreted as a scribe's mistakes, which were partially motivated by the tendency to have uniform endings in the nom. and acc. cases. It is possible that this nom. plu. case appeared in the acc. function as a result of analogy from the -i-stem nouns which had -I as their acc. plu. ending, and from the -jo-stems where the ending -Ě was in a process of being replaced by the ending -I.

In post-prepositional use, the old acc. case with the ending -Y also predominated in both Chronicles. The Laurentian had twelve instances of the old acc. case and two examples of the nom.-acc. case after prepositions. Both of these combinations can be illustrated by the following sentences:

i tako vzja pobědu NA BĚSY. jako i mukhy ni vo chtože imjashe strashenbja ikhъ i mechtanbja ikhъ (La., p. 196); moli-shisja za ljudi vernyja. i ZA svoja OUCHNKY (La., p. 213); takozhe i Ťb nashъ pokazal ny estъ NA VRAGY pobědu (La., p. 243 and pp. 268, 279, 294, 294, 476); ne daja sobe olupokoja. NA POSADNIKI ne zrja ni na birichi (La., p. 251); jako negodno nyně vesně iti khochem NA SMERDY i pogubiti ě (La., p. 277); poidosha sněve na otsa. a otsi na děti. brat na brata raby na gnu. a gnsъ NA RABY (La., 494), and, no priidokhomъ Bgomъ popushcheni NA KHOLOPI nashi. i NA KONJUSI svoi (La., p. 505).

Examples of preposition with the old acc. case of the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons appeared fifteen times in the Hypatian Chronicle. They were:

snide Dkhъ Styi NA APSLY (Hyp., p. 91); izhe po oshestvii ego moljasja za ljudi vernbja. i ZA svoja OUCHNKII (Hyp., p. 204); vē ne priidokhovē na gorodъ vashъ. ni na vasъ. no NA VOROGI svoja (Hyp., p. 242); a NA VRAGI nashē dastъ pobedu veliku (Hyp., p. 254, and pp. 270, 640, 763); i poide so vsi voi ego. i sta NA TOVARISHCHI (Hyp., p. 263); vozhъ by NA INOPLEMENNIKY supostatъ bystъ (Hyp., p. 262, 268); i poidosha vozlozhivshe nadezhju na Ba. i na prechistuju materъ ego. i NA styja ANGLY ego i poidosha (Hyp., p. 266); oni zhe oustremishasja. na Ratъshinъ dvorъ grabitъ. i NA MECHNIKY (Hyp., p. 322); tako toliky

střsti i različnaja smřti NA PRAVEDNIKI  
 nakhodili soutb (Hyp., pp. 350, 588); i  
 dshcheri vasha dasha ZA RABY vasha (Hyp.,  
 p. 724).

As the old acc. plu. case differed morphologically from the nom. case in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons, the presence of the preposition before the old acc. plu. case merely indicated the specific function of the case. Thus, the animate-inanimate category was adequately expressed in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns signifying persons which appeared in the objective function after various prepositions.

In summarizing the discussion of the substitution process in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons as it was revealed in the two Chronicles, the following comments can be made.

Relevant to the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases by the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns, it was found that in the Laurentian Chronicle, the former case with the ending -Y appeared twenty-seven times, while the latter occurred ten times. In the Hypatian Chronicle, respective acc. cases were represented eighty-one and eight times. When comparing the frequency of the gen.-acc. case in the two Chronicles, it is evident that this case was represented by two less examples in the Hypatian Chronicle. Hence, the substitution was proceeding at a slower pace in this Chronicle. The paucity of the gen.-acc. cases in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns referring to persons can be

explained by the following considerations.

First, the nom. and acc. plu. cases still held their own original endings, -I and -Y respectively. The nom. plu. case-ending -I remained steadfast, and was replaced by the new nom. case-ending -Y only twice in the Laurentian and nine times in the Hypatian Chronicle. In these instances, there was a real possibility of syntactical confusion of the subject and object relationship.

Second, as an attempt to avoid the morphological identity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases, the nom. plu. case-ending -OVE was used seventeen times in the Laurentian and eighteen times in the Hypatian Chronicle by the -o-stem nouns.

Finally, the substitution was retarded by the use of the ending -I (even though it was similar to the old nom. plu. case-ending) for the acc. plu. case, in order to achieve different subject and object cases. Such an acc. plu. case with <sup>the</sup>ending -I appeared five times in each Chronicle. In the post-prepositional use, only the old acc. case appeared in both Chronicles -- fourteen times in the Laurentian and fifteen in the Hypatian.

On the basis of these considerations, one may conclude that the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons depended largely on the distinction between the old nom. plu. case and its alternate case-endings, and <sup>or</sup> the old acc. plu. case. The use of the

gen.-acc. plu. case with the endings -ѣ and -OVѣ was limited numerically, but they attest to the presence of the substitution process in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons in both Chronicles.

TABLE III

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND THE GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE MASC. PLU. -O-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

TYPE OF PLU. NOUN	C A S E	END- ING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
-o-stem	a. Old Acc	-Y(-I)	27	81
	b. Acc-Old Gen	-Ъ	5	6
	c. Acc=New Gen	-OVЪ	5	2
	d. Acc=Old Nom	-I	5	5
	a. Prep + Old Acc	-Y	14	15
	a. New Nom	-Y	2	9
	b. New Nom	-OVE	17	18

## CHAPTER VI

### ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE MASC. PLU. -JO-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS

#### Introduction

In the Common Slavic, OCS, and early East Slavic periods, the nom. and acc. case-endings of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons were morphologically different, -I and -Ě respectively. As a result of the simplification of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings in these nouns, the acc. case-ending -Ě was replaced by the ending -I. This was accomplished on the basis of analogy of the acc. plu. ending of the -i-stem nouns, and the acc. plu. ending -Y of the -o-stem nouns. The identity of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the -jo-stem nouns hindered syntactical relation of the subject and object, and deprived the animate-inanimate category of the morphological means for adequate expression. Hence, one purpose of this chapter is to examine the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. in the two Chronicles in order to determine the status of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns referring to persons.

1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. Plu. -jo-Stem Nouns Denoting Persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

In the OCS monuments, the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -jo-stem nouns denoting persons were differentiated phonetically and morphologically. The nom. case was represented by the ending -I, while the acc. case had the endings -Ě or -JĚ after 'jot'. Since the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings differed, the use of the gen. plu. case for the acc. function was unknown in the OCS texts.<sup>1</sup>

In the early and middle East Slavic texts, the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying persons also had different nom. and acc. plu. case-endings, -I and -Ě respectively. The nom. and acc. cases of the plu. -jo-stem nouns had additional endings. For example, the nom. plu. case at times had this variety of endings: -Ě, -EVE, -EVĚ and -EVI. The acc. plu. case of these nouns was represented by the following four case-endings: (a) the original, or old acc. case-ending -Ě; (b) its reflex -E; (c) the case-ending -JA, a reflex of the OCS acc. plu. ending -Ě; and (d) by the case-ending -A, a reflex of the OCS ending -Ě, which appeared after hushing and hissing sibilants. In addition, the acc. plu. case of the -jo-stem nouns was represented by the new acc. plu.

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<sup>1</sup>Horace G. Lunt, Old Church Slavonic Grammar ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1955), p. 127.

case-ending -I, which was identical with the nom. plu. case-ending.

On comparing the variety of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings, it is evident that they differed except when the nom. and acc. plu. cases were represented by the endings -Ě and -I. The ending -I, which replaced the old acc. case-ending -Ě, was regarded as the new acc. plu. ending of the -jo-stem nouns.

The above enumerated variety of the acc. plu. case-endings were utilized by the plu. -jo-stem nouns with varying frequency in both chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle,<sup>2</sup> there were thirty-one instances of the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Ě in various -jo-stem nouns. Some random examples were:

Igorъ zhe prishedъ nacha sovkupljati VOĚ mnogi (La., pp. 45, 109, 262, 272, 303, 307, 315, 321, 338, 430, 461; posla Igorъ MUZHĚ svoja, kъ Romanu (La., pp. 46, 121, 166, 262, 403, 412); tvoi sli vodili sutъ TĚRĚ nashi rotĚ (La., p. 53); ota prizva Pytshju. Vyshegoro-dbsyĚ BOLJARŮTĚ (La., p. 132); i bĚ Jaroslavъ l jubja tĚrkvnyja oustavy. popy ljubjashe po veliku. izlikha zhe CHERNORIZŮTĚ (La., pp. 151, 158); i sobra PISTĚ mnogy (La., p. 152); i vdavъ emu PĚSHTĚ i postavĭ i na pravemъ krilĚ (La., pp. 239, 324); i STOROZHĚ sami narjzhivaite (La., p. 246 and pp. 259, 278, 330, 330, 359).

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<sup>2</sup>For detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles can be examined in Table IV at the end of the chapter.

The Hypatian Chronicle had sixty instances of the similar acc. plu. case-ending, which appeared in such expressions as:

Stōpolkъ zhe nacha sbirati VOĚ (Hyp., p. 209 and 299, 304, 336, 339, 381, 449, 496, 573, 608, 819, 822, 823, 827); i Olegъ poslasha MUZHĚ svoi kъ Stōpolku glŕŕche (Hyp., p. 236 and 238, 247, 322, 565, 572, 605, 606, 934); i sobra PISTĚ mnogy (Hyp., p. 139); otai prizva Putshju. i Vyshegorodŕsyja BOJARŔTSĚ (Hyp., p. 118); i okovanŕshe vŕ dvoĚ okovy. i pristavisha k nemu STOROZHĚ na nochŕ (Hyp., p. 233 and 254, 511, 557, 577, 614, 848, 877, 935); oudavŕ emu PĚSHŔTSĚ. postavivŕ i na pravomŕ krilĚ (Hyp., p. 229 and 426, 442, 797, 819, 822, 871); Volodimerŕ zhe sovokupivŕ ŕny svoi i SYNOVTSĚ. i ide kъ Vyru (Hyp., 276 and 481, 858; ou se zhe lĚto potochi Mŕstislavŕ. Polotŕskii KNZĚ sŕ zhenami i s dĚtmi. vŕ GrĚky (Hyp., p. 293 and p. 561, 631, 648, pp. 791, 868); Izjaslavŕ zhe. ŕnmŕ Jaroslavom i poslata podvoiskĚi i BIRICHĚ po oulitsamŕ klikati zovuchi kъ knŕzju na obĚdŕ (Hyp., 369); i sŕĚkhavshasja Volodimirŕ Izjaslavŕ. Dvdvicha i Mŕstislavŕ Izjaslavichŕ. vsi na mesto i poustisha STRĚLTSĚ svoi kъ gradou (Hyp., p. 331, 436, 811); i poproda vsŕ Kŕevŕ. igumeny i popy i CHERNŔTSĚ. i chernitsĚ. Latinu (Hyp., p. 579 and 611, 921); Polovtsi zhe vidivshe Ě. ZAGONŔTSĚ ty Chernykhŕ Kloboukŕ. i jasha nĚkolko ikhŕ (Hyp., p. 622); i sobravŕ TŔZĚMŔLŔTSĚ mnogy (Hyp., p. 800); Mŕstislavŕ. vborzĚ posla GONTĚ (Hyp., p. 930).

These examples indicate that, since the old nom. and old acc. plu. cases of the -jo-stems were retained, the syntactical relationship of the subject and object was easily recognized. In view of this, the animate-inanimate opposition relied on its original principle; the morphological dissimilarity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases in

the -jo-stem nouns.

In a very limited number of examples, the acc. plu. of the masc. -jo stem nouns was represented by the ending -E, as a variety of the ending -Ě. This ending occurred once in the Laurentian Chronicle and six times in the Hypatian. The following sentences illustrate the use of this case-ending:

Stōpolkъ zhe pocha sbirati VOE khotja na ne,  
(La., p. 218), and, naoutrěe zhe. Danilъ.  
Vasilъko. poemъ VOE svoje i poidosta ko gra-  
dou (Hyp., p. 755, and pp. 778, 792, 800, 801  
and 802).

Since the acc. plu. case-ending -E differed from the nom. plu. cases, the syntactical relation of the subject and object, as well as the animate-inanimate opposition, were maintained in the masc. plu. -jo-stem stem nouns denoting persons.

The acc. plu. case with the ending -JA, a reflex of the OCS ending -JĖ, occurred in a number of the -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle, this ending appeared six times:

Poide Olegъ poimъ VOJA mnogi Varjagi. Chjudъ Slověni (La., p. 22); i poslěte ny UCHITELJA. izhe ny moguť skazati knizhnaja slovesa i razumъ ikh (La., p. 26); i oustavi Olegъ VOJA (La., p. 30); i sovokupi Jaroslavъ VOJA mnogy (La., p. 143); Jaroslavъ sovokupi VOJA mnogy (La., p. 149); a VOJA rospusti po vsej zemli Russtěi (La., p. 538).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the case-ending -JA was represented thirty-six times, in these sentences:

a poslete ny OUCHITELJA. izhe moguť ny skazati knizhnaja slovesa. i razumъ ikhъ (Hyp., p. 18); se prislalasja ko mně Slovenъskaja zemlja. prosjashche OUCHITELJA sebě. izhe by moglъ imъ istolkovati. styja knigy (Hyp., p. 19); Igorъ sovokupi VOJA mnogy (Hyp., p. 34); a Oľga vъzvratilъ kъ Kievu. i pristroil VOJA na prokъ ikhъ (Hyp., p. 46); ty zhe gla mi jako ashche vъzvrashchjusja v Rus mnogy dary poslju ti. cheljadъ i voskъ i skoru. i VOJA mnogy v pomoshchъ (Hyp., pp. 51 and 52, 60, 66, 95, 131, 137, 137, 138, 142, 155, 161, 173, 192, 226, 226, 236, 266, 323, 336, 361, 449, 455, 456, 477, 514, 727, 793, 800); i vъbisha tu v polku knjazii. k.... i prochaja KNJAZJA ikhъ. a Velъduza jasha (Hyp., pp. 254-255); Jaroslavъ bo bjashe podъmolvilъ kňzě Ruskie. i korolja i Ljadъskija KNJAZJA da bysha emu byli pomochъnitsi. na Ivana (Hyp., pp. 496-497); tako zhe ne byvalo nikogda zhe. Tatarom zhe pobedivshimъ Rousъskyja KNJAZJA. za pregreshenie křstnъskoe (Hyp., p. 745)

Another acc. plu. case-ending -A, a reflex of the OCS ending -Ě, appeared once in the Laurentian Chronicle: "i sozva knjazъ boljary svoja i STARTSA" (La., p. 108). In the Hypatian this case was represented nine times:

poslasha k nemu zlato i pavoloky. i MUZHA mudry (Hyp., p. 58 and pp. 66, 128, 473, 656, 700, 700); i sozva knjazъ bojary svoja i STARTSA (Hyp., p. 94); i bysha na Ivlě na rětsě na Polovětskoi. i tou izъmasha STOROZHA Polovetskyja (Hyp., p. 677).

From the examples of the acc. plu. cases with the endings -Ě, -E, -JA and -A of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns referring to persons, and from the fact that the nom. plu. case of these nouns was represented by the ending -I, it is evident that the subject and object relationship,

as well as the animate-inanimate category, were maintained on the basis of morphological distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases.

As a result of the unification process in the nom. and acc. case-endings of the masc. plu. -jo-stems, the old acc. case-ending -Ě was replaced by the ending -I, which was similar to the nom. ending. Both Chronicles reflect this phenomenon. In the Laurentian Chronicle there were seventy-nine instances in which the nom. and acc. cases of the masc. plu. animate nouns were morphologically identical, with ending -I. The examples of this use can be observed in the following sentences:

i ouvidě Olegъ. jako Oskoldъ. i Dirъ.  
knjazhita. i pokhoroni VOI vъ lodъja  
(La., p. 23 and pp. 23, 24, 45, 57, 58, 62,  
64, 67, 72, 76, 141, 150, 150, 151, 154,  
163, 166, 183, 201, 219, 236, 269, 247,  
271, 282, 298, 300, 304, 333, 484, 484);  
Posla MOUZHИ svoi Olegъ. postroitи mira  
(La., p. 32 and pp. 55, 72, 79, 107, 128,  
140, 268, 272, 274, 320, 340, 341, 364, 386,  
404, 420, 421, 470); i sovokupljati nacha  
mnogy CHERNORIZъTSИ (La., p. 160 and 216);  
prizvavъ knizhniki i STARTSI ljudъskija.  
i vъprasha ikh (La., p. 102 and 106); na  
Desne izbimakhom KNJAZИ. Asaduka. i Saouka.  
i družinu ikhъ izbisha (La., p. 248 and  
pp. 250, 250, 311, 432, 437, 448, 415);  
poproda vesъ Kyeвъ igumeny. i popy. CHE-  
RNъTSИ. i chernitsi (La., p. 367 and  
pp. 418, 462, 517).

Similar examples of the acc. plu. case-ending in -I appeared eighty-eight times in the Hypatian Chronicle. They can be illustrated by the following expressions:

Poide Olegъ poemъ VOI svoi mnogy (Hyp., p. 16 and pp. 16, 16, 21, 34, 46, 64, 128, 301, 325, 356, 645, 646, 733, 748, 753, 758, 779, 793, 797, 800, 801, 915, 830); Posla Olegъ MUZHI svoi (Hyp. p. 23 and pp. 28, 35, 43, 43, 45, 45, 60, 106, 113, 147, 150, 156, 156, 242, 249, 303, 304, 308, 365, 372, 387, 393, 394, 397, 421, 452, 452, 453, 467, 468, 474, 488, 528, 535, 607, 650, 670, 677-8, 680, 686, 688, 689); i prizvavъ knizhniky i STARTSI (Hyp., p. 89 and 93); Jaroslavъ ljubja tsrkvnyja oustavi. i popy ljubjashe po veliku izlikha zhe bē ljubja CHERNORIZЪTSI (Hyp., p. 139 and pp. 148, 197, 200, 707); a opjatъ vy vzovou. i derzha posly nedlju. a STOROZHI postavi ot tovarъ ikh da by k nimъ niktozhe ne prishelъ (Hyp., pp. 375, 411, 425, 442); Izjaslavъ zhe to slyshavъ pusti STRĚLTSI svoja bitъsja (Hyp., p. 411); i posla Vsevolodъ Rjazanъskii KNJAZI (Hyp., p. 619 and pp. 630, 679); i perezhe mlstni prelezhashetъ. manastyrja nabdja. i CHERNЪTSI outeshivaja. i vsi igoumeny (Hyp., p. 703); bratъe pochto smyshljaetesja ne sii li izbisha OTTSI vashi. i bratъju vashju (Hyp., p. 724).

The examples of the new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stems, as cited from the two Chronicles, clearly indicate that this case was morphologically identical with the nom. plu. case. Theoretically, there was a possibility of syntactical confusion between the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -jo-stem nouns denoting persons. This was likely to occur if both cases of the -jo-stem nouns appeared in the same sentence. Such was not the case, in spite of the fact that there were one hundred twenty instances of the nom. plu. case with the ending -I, and seventy-nine examples of the acc. plu. case with the same ending in the Laurentian Chronicle. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same cases with the identical ending -I

were represented one hundred eighty-seven, and eighty-eight times, respectively.

In view of the identical nom. and acc. plu. cases in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons, the subject and object relationship was ascertained from the context.

In addition to context, there was an attempt on the part of the plu. -jo-stem nouns to acquire a different nom. plu. case-ending -EVE. This desinence represented a 'soft' form of the nom. plu. ending -OVE of the -u-stems. It appeared six times in the Laurentian Chronicle and three times in the Hypatian. Samples from the former Chronicle were:

takozhe Russkiě knjazi. pošlasha STOROZHĚ svoě. i ousteregosha Ruskiě STOROZHEVE Oltunopu. i obistupivšshe i. i oubisha Altunopu i sushchaja s nim (La., p. 278); Igorja pobljudut STOROZHEVE. a my poidem k bratu (La., p. 317); i pokrysha Dněprъ ot mnozhstva voi. STOROZHEVE zhe Izjaslavli. oubojavshesja bězhasha (La., p. 332); Mstislav zhe na tu noshchъ rostavlja STOROZHĚ. a sam ljazhe spati s Ugry. STOROZHEVE zhe pribegosha k nemu polunoshchi (La., p. 336); poshedshju zhe knjazju v pole. ouzrěsha nashi STOROZHEVE polkъ v poli (La., p. 389).

In the latter chronicle, similar instances of the nom. case in -EVE endings appeared in the following sentences:

priide zhe věstъ k Olgovi. jako STOROZHEVE ego izoimani (Hyp., p. 228); STOROZHEVE ekhavshe podъ Gjurgevy polky i gonishas s nimi (Hyp., p. 434); Izjaslavъ bě pereshelъ do nikh rěku Seretъ i STOROZHEVE zhe Izjaslavli. vidivshe polky Galichъskija. prignavshi povedasha Izjaslavu (Hyp., p. 466).

In addition, the Hypatian Chronicle also had one example of the nom. plu. case-ending -ЪJA, which came from the nom. case of the fem. collective nouns. This example read: "po temъ bo gorodomъ. sѣdjakhu KNJAZЪJA. podъ Olgom sushche" (Hyp., p. 22).

At the same time, there were two instances of the old acc. case with the ending -Ě in the nom. function in the Laurentian Chronicle, and nine in the Hypatian. In the Laurentian Chronicle the following sentences exemplify this use:

okanъnii zhe si OUBIITSĚ pridoshа kъ Sto-  
polku. akъ khulu imushche bezakonъnitsi  
(La., p. 134-135); taky CHERNЪTSĚ jako  
svetila v Rusi sъjajutъ. ovi bo bjakhu  
postnitsi (La., p. 188).

Similar examples in the Hypatian Chronicle were:

i rѣsha emu MUZHĚ smysleněi. po chto vy  
rasprju imati mezhi soboju (Hyp. pp. 210 and  
645); i sobrashas epъspy i popově. i CHE-  
RNORISTSĚ. i pěsni obychnyja pevshe (Hyp.,  
p. 212); Volodimerъ zhe sovokupivъ sny svoi  
i SYNOVTSĚ. ide kъ Vyru (Hyp., p. 276 and pp.  
481, 858); ognemъ ot zhizni seja iskoushenie  
priemshi. STARTSĚ porěvakhoutъsja. ounoty zhe  
(Hyp., p. 643); vyekha zhe Tevtevilъ. izъ  
goroda. Rousъ i Polovtsi. Danilovi s nimi i  
Zhemoitъ s nimi i mnozii PĚSHTSĚ (Hyp., p. 818);  
i ounoty. i masterě vsjatsii bězhakhou is  
Tatarъ. sedelnitsi i louchnitsi. i toulnitsi.  
i KOUZNITSĚ (Hyp., p. 843).

The use of the case-ending -Ě for the nom. plu. function by the -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles was, in all probability, motivated by the syntactical reasons and the need of the animate-inanimate category to have different nom.

and acc. plu. cases in the masc. -jo-stem nouns referring to persons.

Since the new acc. plu. case-ending -I was identical with the nom. plu. case, and inconvenient from the viewpoint of syntax and the animate-inanimate opposition in the -jo-stem nouns, the old acc. plu. was supplanted by the four varieties of the gen. plu. case-endings. These case-endings were: (a) the old gen. case-ending -ѣ; (b) the gen. with ending -II of the -i-stems; (c) the gen. with the ending -EI, also of the -i-stems; and (d) the gen. case with the ending -EVъ, a soft variety of -OVъ ending from the -u-stem nouns.

In the Laurentian Chronicle the old gen. plu. case with the ending -ѣ was attested four times:

i pride къ Smolenъsku съ Krivichi. i prija gradъ. i posadi MUZHъ svoi. ottuda poide vnizъ. i vzja Ljubetsъ. i posadi MUZHъ svoi (La., p. 23); i nasъ poslasha rotě voditъ tebe. i MUZHъ tvoikhъ. obeshchasja Igorъ sitse stvorite (La., p. 53); i pustilъ esmъ Polovechskykh KNJAZъ lepshikh izъ okovъ (La., p. 250).

The identical case-ending -ѣ of the gen. plu. -jo-stem nouns also appeared four times in the acc. function in the Hypatian Chronicle:

i nasъ poslasha rotě voditъ tebe i MUZHъ tvoikhъ. i obeshchasja Igorъ sitse stvorit (Hyp., p. 42); i nacha Bъ oumnozhati. CHERNO-RIZĚTSъ (Hyp., p. 147); i posla k nimъ Ivana Voitishicha. prosja ou nikhъ MOUZHъ lepshikhъ (Hyp., p. 307); i voprosja. TOZE-MĚTSъ . kako imenouetъsja město se (Hyp., p. 842).

The utilization of the gen.-acc. case with the ending -ъ provided the necessary distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -jo-stem nouns. Thus, the animate-inanimate opposition began to express itself through the gen.-acc. case.

The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -II appeared twice in the Laurentian Chronicle:

Bu nakazavshju KNJAZII kr̄sta ch̄stnago ne prestupati. i star̄ishago brata chtjti (La., p. 377); on zhe outaiv̄sja vseh MUZHII i poslov̄ Vsevolozhikh (La., p. 404); a gorod vzjasha a ljudi pos̄ekosha. a KNJAZII ima izdavisha (La., p. 508).

In the Hypatian Chronicle there were only five examples of this use:

a Olga vodisha i MUZHII ego no rotu (Hyp., p. 23); jasha bojar̄ mnogo... i prochikh MUZHII (Hyp., p. 298); drouzhina zhe Vjachoslavlj̄a i Izjaslavlj̄a i Rosislavl̄ja i vsikh KNZII oustjagyvakhout̄ ot togo (Hyp., p. 426); poslusha artsipiskupa i vsikh MUZHII svoikh (Hyp., p. 451); a nam̄ sja o n̄ ne blazniti. zanezhe KNZII svoi ljubil̄ (Hyp., p. 523).

The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -EI occurred five times in the Laurentian Chronicle, as illustrated by the following examples:

i sr̄ete i vovoda Eremai ot kn̄zja Konstjantina iz Rostova nashikh KNJAZEI (La., p. 493); Togo zhe l̄eta pobisha Tatarove. KNZEI Ruskikh (La., p. 503); i odari KNZEI Rus̄skykh (La., p. 504); a inykh zhe emshe MUZHEI. i zheny i d̄eti (La., p. 515); inikh KNZEI s nim̄. Jaroslav̄. Jaroslavich̄. posla s Nov̄gorodtsi na N̄m̄tsi (La., p. 525).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, only one example was recorded: "on zhe posloushavъ bratъi svoei i MOUZHĚI svoeikhъ" (Hyp., p. 607). The case-ending -EVъ appeared in the acc. plu. function once in the Laurentian Chronicle and three times in the Hypatian:

i posobi Bgъ Jarunu. izymasha STOROZHEVъ Jaroslavlikh (La., p. 493); and, i prishedъ vъsprosi EVERĚEVъ. idu li na Darъja (Hyp., p. 264); korolъ zhe s velikoju ljubovъju. p posla VOEVъ v silě tjazhtsě. (Hyp., p. 724); no azъ khoshchou sja ostatis samъ v male drizhině. i sozhъdati VOEVъ moikhъ (Hyp., p. 823).

The utilization of four different gen. plu. cases with the endings -ъ, -II, -EI and -EVъ in the acc. plu. function demonstrates the presence of the substitution process in the plu. -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles. This process was motivated primarily by the fact that the old nom. and acc. plu. cases were identical; namely -I, and by the animate-inanimate category, which depended for its expression on the morphological dissimilarity between the nom. and acc. plu. cases.

In the post-prepositional function, the following four case-endings of the plu. -jo-stem nouns were used in the two Chronicles: the acc. case-endings -Ě and -JA, the new acc. plu. case-ending -I, and the new gen. plu. case with the ending -EVъ.

The old acc. plu. case with the ending -Ě occurred twice in the Laurentian and once in the Hypatian Chronicles:

posla Izjaslavъ PO VOĚ Suzdalju (La., p. 236);  
 i ouzhasъ napade na нь. i NA VOĚ ego (La.,  
 p. 239; and, a Stōpolkъ svētъ stvori s Ljakhy.  
 i poide kъ Pinъsku. posla PO VOĚ. i priide  
 Dorogobuzhju (Hyp., pp. 243-244).

The presence of the old acc. plu. case-ending -Ě after prepositions indicated that the animate-inanimate opposition expressed itself through the differentiation of the old nom. and old acc. plu. cases.

Another old acc. plu. case-ending, -JA, appeared once in each Chronicle: "vzemъ... zhe zlato i pavoloki. i NA vsja VOJA" (La., p. 46); and, "i strakhъ napade NA VOJA Volodarevy" (Hyp., p. 527).

As the new acc. plu. case-ending -I in the direct object function appeared with greater frequency, its use was reflected proportionately after various prepositions. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were seven examples of preposition and noun combinations, and eight in the Hypatian Chronicle. They are illustrated by the following sentences in the Laurentian Chronicle:

oni zhe rěsha razŕgněvasja Bъ NA OTSI nashi.  
 i rastochi ny po stranamъ grekhъ rad na-  
 shikh (La., p. 249); atъ pristavishъ k nim svoja  
 (La., p. 249); atъ pristavishъ k nim svoja  
 posly. atъ idutъ PO KNJAZI nashi v Rusъ (La.,  
 pp. 372 and 399); oni zhe slyshavshe poidosha  
 k nim. a PO DRUZI poslashedja (La., p. 398); ne  
 bē na nemъ poroka i bys pobeda NA vsi KNZI  
 Rutstii (La., p. 508).

Similar expressions in the Hypatian Chronicle were:

i poslasta PO okolnye KNZI. i sovokoupi-  
 shasja k nima. Stōslavicha (Hyp., p. 630);  
 oni zhe rěsha razŕgněvalъsja Bъ NA OTSI nash.

i rastochi ny po stranakh. grěkh rad nashikhъ (Hyp., p. 73); posla Izjaslavъ PO VOI Rostovu (Hyp., p. 226); i pocha s nimi doumati. khotja NA Rjazanskii KNJAZI. bjakhutъ bo imъ rěchi pro volosti (Hyp., p. 679); i velja sja postrichi v CHERNЪTSI (Hyp., p. 680).

Although the acc. and nom. cases in these nouns were identical, the prepositions which governed the acc. cases clearly indicated that the case in question was acc.

There was only one example of the new gen. plu. case with the ending -EVъ in the acc. function after a preposition. It appeared in the Laurentian Chronicle, and read: "podchesja po Ivoromъ konъ pězhtsi zhe ne ozhidajuchi Ivora. oudarisha NA Jaroslavlikh PĚSHTSEVъ i kliknusha oni' vergъshe kii" (La., pp. 497-498).

In all these examples, the prepositions which governed the acc. plu. case indicated that the case in question was acc. Thus, the animate-inanimate category was able to express itself after various prepositions in the plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons in both Chronicles.

The examination of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons, with respect to the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases, warrants several remarks regarding the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles.

The results of the findings showed that the acc. plu. with the ending-Ě, and its three variant case-endings, -E, -JA, and -A, appeared thirty-eight times in the Laurentian Chronicle and one hundred eleven times in the Hypatian Chronicle.

The acc. plu. case was also represented by the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I. This ending was replacing the old acc. plu. ending -Ě and was identical with the nom. plu. case, which also had an -I ending. This new acc. plu. case occurred seventy-nine times in the Laurentian, and eighty-eight times in the Hypatian Chronicle. The comparison of the numerical frequencies of the old acc. and the new acc. cases show that there was a ratio of two to one in the Laurentian Chronicle in favour of the new acc. case. In the Hypatian Chronicle the ratio between the same cases was one to three, respectively, an indication that this Chronicle followed a slower pace in adopting a new acc. plu. case with the ending -I. Although the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I had an advantage over the old acc. plu. case ending in -Ě, which it was replacing, there was a greater possibility of confusing it with the nom. plu. case. The possible confusion was avoided by resorting to the context in order to determine whether these nouns were subjects or objects. A more effective way to eliminate the similarity between the nom. and acc. plu. cases was to use the gen. plu. case

for the acc. function. This was effected by the substitution process, whereby the gen. plu. cases with the endings -b, -II, EI, and -EVb functioned in the acc. capacity. In the Laurentian Chronicle, these endings were represented a total of twelve times, and in the Hypatian the total was thirteen times. Although there was a limited number of examples of the gen.-acc. plu. cases, it is evident that the substitution process was at its initial stage in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns.

With respect to the post-prepositional use, the Laurentian Chronicle showed that the old acc. plu. case appeared in a ratio of one to two in favour of the new acc. case, while in the Hypatian the ratio stood one to four for the same cases. The gen.-acc. case with the ending -EVb occurred after a preposition once, and only in the Laurentian Chronicle.

In conclusion, one can state that the animate-inanimate category relied for its expression mainly on the new acc. plu. case, whose function was determined contextually. It also relied to some degree on the old acc. plu. case, and marginally on the gen.-acc. plu. case in the masc. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons in the two Chronicles.

TABLE IV

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND THE GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE MASC. PLU. -JO-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

TYPE OF PLU. NOUN	C A S E	END- ING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
-jo-stem	a. Old Acc	-Ě	31	60
	b. Old Acc	-E	1	6
	c. Old Acc	-JA	6	36
	d. Old Acc	-A	1	9
	e. New Acc-Old Nom	-I	79	88
	a. Acc=Old Gen	-b	4	4
	b. Acc=New Gen	-II	2	5
	c. Acc-New Gen	-EI	5	1
	d. Acc=New Gen	-EVb	1	3
	a. Prep † Old Acc	-Ě	2	1
	b. Prep † Old Acc	-JA	1	1
	c. Prep † New Acc	-I	7	8
	d. Prep † New Gen	-EVb	1	0

## CHAPTER VII

### ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE MASC. PLU. -U- AND -I-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS

#### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the substitution process in the masc. plu. -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting persons in order to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in these nouns in the two Chronicles.

Numerically, the -u-stem nouns represented a small group of animate nouns whose nom. and acc. plu. cases differed morphologically before they joined the -o-stem nouns. Therefore, the -u-stem nouns were not affected by the substitution process as evidenced by the material examined in the two Chronicles.

The masc. plu. -i-stem nouns, which originally also had different nom. and acc. plu. cases, experienced a simplification of the endings in the above cases. This resulted in the identification of the nom. and acc. plu. cases. At the same time, the material examined in the two Chronicles revealed the initial phase of the substitution process as an effort to support the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns signifying persons.

1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc.  
Plu. -U- and -I-Stem Nouns Denoting  
Persons in the Laurentian and Hypatian  
Chronicles

Since the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the -u-stem nouns denoting persons were represented by the endings -OVE and -Y respectively, the gen.-acc. case with the ending -OVЪ was not used in the -u-stems in the OCS, early and middle East Slavic texts.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the -u-stem nouns were not affected by the simplification process of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems. Thus, the acc. plu. case of the -u-stem nouns was represented by the ending -Y in both Chronicles.

In the Laurentian Chronicle,<sup>2</sup> the acc. plu. case-ending -Y appeared thirteen times, exclusively in the noun 'synъ':

i privozhakhu S̄NY svoja i d̄shcheri (La., p. 79); i privozhakh S̄NY svoja i d̄shcheri (La., p. 91); i vseli v nikhъ m̄sto S̄NY Iz̄Ivy (La., p. 96); izhe izbi bratju svoju. S̄NY Gedeony (La., p. 146); i eshche bo

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<sup>1</sup>Paul Diels, Altkirchenslavische Grammatik (Heidelberg: Winter, 1932), Part I, pp. 153-162; Nikolaj Durnovo, Ocherk istorii russkogo jazyka (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo, 1924), pp. 273-274.

<sup>2</sup>Detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases of the -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting persons can be examined in Table V at the end of the chapter.

zhivushchju emu. narjadi S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja rekъ imъ (La., p. 161); družii zhe gljūtъ S<sup>1</sup>NY Amonovy. se zhe nēs tako. snove bo Moavli Khvalisi. a snve Ammonovi Bolgare (La., p. 234); Posla Mstislavъ S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja. Vsevoloda. i Izjaslava. i Rostislava (La., p. 301); I Kijany. i dshcheri ikh i S<sup>1</sup>NY ikh. to vse vedosha inoplemenitsi v vezhi k sobě (La., p. 419); Tōe zhe zimy velikyi knjaz Vsevolodъ posla S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja. Kostjantina s bratbeju ego (La., p. 435); ourjadivъ S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja v sobe mēsto (La., p. 461); togo radi vsemlstivyi Bgъ. khotjai pogubiti bezbozhnyja S<sup>1</sup>NY Izmailovy. Kumany (La., p. 504); Toe zhe zimy vyekha knzъ. Jurbi iz Volodimerja. ourjadivъ S<sup>1</sup>NY svoi v sebja mēsto (La., p. 516).

The same noun, 'synъ' with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y was represented twelve times in the Hypatian Chronicle, as shown by the following examples:

i privozhakhu S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja (Hyp., p. 67);  
 i privozhakhu S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja i dshcheri svoja (Hyp., p. 78); i eshche zhibu sushchju emu narjadi S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja reky imъ (Hyp., p. 149);  
 i tako narjadi S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja (Hyp., p. 150):  
 egda razdeljashe vyshnii jazyky. ikhъ zhe rasiya S<sup>1</sup>NY Adamovy (Hyp., p. 270); Volodimerъ zhe sovokupivъ S<sup>1</sup>NY svoi i synovtsě (Hyp., p. 276); Posla Mstislavъ. S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja. na Chjudъ. Vsevoloda Izjaslava. Rostislava (Hyp., p. 294); i postavi Gjurgi S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja po pravu (Hyp., p. 382); i ottuda poide kъ Luchesku i tu pereby tri dni i tu pasashe Boleslavъ S<sup>1</sup>NY bojarъsky mechemъ mnogy (Hyp., p. 386); i sъzva vsě S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja. i molozhъshjuju bratъju (Hyp., p. 615); Stoslavъ zhe posla S<sup>1</sup>NY svoja. s polky svoimi (Hyp., p. 628).

The exclusive use of the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y, which differed from the nom. plu. case-ending -OVE, leads one to conclude that the animate-inanimate category expressed itself in the -u-stem

nouns through the distinct nom. and acc. plu. cases in both Chronicles.

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case of the -u-stems was recorded twice in the Laurentian Chronicle and once in the Hypatian. These expressions were:

i pro<sup>h</sup>ii ot brat<sup>h</sup>ja ego obratjatsja  
 NA S<sup>h</sup>NY IZ<sup>h</sup>lvy (La., p. 100); a knjaz<sup>h</sup>  
 St<sup>h</sup>oslav<sup>h</sup> posla PO S<sup>h</sup>NY svo<sup>h</sup>e. i po vse  
 knjazi (La., p. 399); and, i pro<sup>h</sup>ii  
 ot brat<sup>h</sup>ja ego obratjatsja NA S<sup>h</sup>NY  
 IZ<sup>h</sup>lvy (Hyp., p. 87).

The combination of the preposition and the old acc. case demonstrates further that the -u-stem noun 'syn<sup>h</sup>' retained the original acc. plu. case, and thus supported the animate-inanimate category on the basis of different nom. and acc. plu. cases.

Only two masc. plu. -i-stem nouns denoting persons appeared in the acc. plu. case in both Chronicles.

The first noun was 'gost<sup>h</sup>'. Its nom. plu. case-endings were -<sup>h</sup>E and -<sup>h</sup>IE, while the acc. plu. ending was -<sup>h</sup>I. The second noun, 'ljudin<sup>h</sup>', followed the -o-stem declension in the sing. number, but in the plu. number it was declined according to the masc. plu. -i-stem noun declension. Therefore, its nom. and acc. plu. case-endings were similar to those of the -i-stem nouns.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the noun 'gost<sup>h</sup>' appeared once in the old acc. plu. case-ending -<sup>h</sup>I, while

the noun 'ljudinъ' was present forty-five times in the same case-ending. The following random examples illustrate the use of this case of the masc. -i-stem nouns:

i edina kharatъja estъ ou tšrstva nashego na neizhe es krstъ. i imena nasha napisana. a na drugoi posly vasha i GOSTI vasha (La., p. 52); i povelě Olga voemъ svoimъ imati e. jako vzja gradъ i pozhъzhe i. starěishiny zhe grada izъnima. i prochaja LJUDI ovykъ izbi (La., p. 59); Moisi zhe sъbravъ LJUDI Zhidovъskija. poide ot zemlě Ejupetъski (La., p. 95); blъsnъ Gsъ Is Khs. izhe vъzljubi novyja LJUDI Rusъskuju zemlju (La., p. 119); i svershi jazhe nasadi desnitsa tvoja. novyja LJUDI si (La., p. 124); i sъzyvasha boljary svoja. i posadniky starěishiny po vsemъ gradomъ. i LJUDI mnogy (La., p. 125); se estъ novyi Kostjantinъ velikogo Rima. izhe krstivъsja sam i LJUDI svoja (La., pp. 130-131); Stōpolkъ zhe okannyi nacha knъjazhiti Kyeve. sozvavъ LJUDI nacha dajati ovemъ korzna (La., p. 140); velja imъ ouchiti LJUDI (La., p. 153); i nachasha LJUDI ego koriti (La., p. 171); i tako ujavljakhu LJUDI Plotъskyja i ego oblastъ (La., p. 215); i nachasha ti ounii grabiti LJUDI i prodavati (La., p. 217); i LJUDI razdělisha i vedosha b vezhě (La., p. 225); i poja svoja LJUDI Rostovtsi (La., p. 240); a Mstislavъ prished stvori mirъ s Rjazantsi i poja LJUDI svoja (ibid.,); i sědshe dumati s družinoju. ili LJUDI opravlivati. ili na lovъ ēkhati (La., p. 247); ozhe ny bjashe LJUDI zajalъ i Bъ ny pomozhe (La., p. 250); Izjaslav zhe ouskori dnemъ peredъ bratbeju. i zaja LUDI ot goroda (La., p. 298 and pp. 299, 320, 349, 361, 362, 388, 422, 433, 433, 433, 434, 442, 461, 462, 463, 469, 469, 476, 483, 495, 495, 501, 506, 508, 516 and 517.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same nouns - 'gostъ' and 'ljudinъ' were recorded in the old acc. plu. case-ending -I once and sixty-two times respectively

in the following sentences:

a samъ Rjurikъ i Stōslavъ poidosta zadě ikhъ. edoushchim zhe imъ. i ousretosta GOSTI idoushchъ. protivou sebe is Polovetsъ (Hyp., p. 635); and, i poide po Dněpru gorě. i pride vъ Sloveny. idezhe ině Novъgorod. i viděvъ LJUDI tu sushchaja (Hyp., p. 7); i povelě Olga voemъ svoimъ. imati ja. i jako vzja gorodъ i pozhiъzhe i. starěișhiny zhe goroda. izhъzhe. i prochaja LUDI. ověkhъ izbi (Hyp., p. 48); rech zhe imъ voevoda ikhъ. imenemъ Pretichъ. podъstupimъ zaoutra v lodъjakhъ. i popadъshe knjaginju i knjazhichi oumъchimъ na sju stranu. i LJUDI (Hyp., p. 54); i tshchashesja potrebiti okannyi. i naŕusti LJUDI (Hyp., p. 69); Moisei zhe sъbravъ LJUDI Zhi-dovъskyja. poide ot zemlja Egupetъskyja (Hyp., p. 82); tako Bū vъzljubivshju novyja LJUDI (hyp., p. 86); blġsnъ Gsъ Iŝsъ Khs izhe vъzljubi novyja LJUDI Ruskuju zemlju (Hyp., p. 103); i svērshi jazhe nasadi desnitsa tvoja. LJUDI sija novyja (Hyp., p. 108); ŝpse Bъ LJUDI svoja (Hyp., p. 268); podъmolvilъ na tja LJUDI Berendiche (Hyp., p. 372); ozhe dobre naděeshisja na Kijany to ty samъ vĕdaeshi LJUDI svoja (Hyp., p. 414); i prishedъshe tolko v zemlju ikhъ. mnogo zla stvorisha. sela vzjasha i pozhъgosha. i LJUDI isĕkosha (Hyp., p. 560); movljakhoutъ bo ozhe pobĕgnemъ outechemъ sami. a chernyja LJUDI ostavimъ (Hyp., p. 641); naoutrija zhe Danilъ i Vasilko. poslasta LJUDI svoi (Hyp., p. 756); posla LJUDI k Volodimĕrou (Hyp., p. 840); i radi bysha emou vsi ljudĕ. outverdivъ LJUDI i zasadou posadi v Bĕlъski (Hyp., p. 932).

The examples of the old acc. plu. case-ending -I of the masc. -i-stem nouns denoting persons indicate that this case was still regarded as the acc. case despite the fact that the nom. plu. case was in a process of acquiring a similar ending. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were four examples of the new nom. plu. case with the ending -I, and two in the Hypatian Chronicle. Thus, it

appears that the simplification process of the nom. and plu. case-endings in the -i-stem nouns was limited in the two Chronicles.

In addition to the old acc. plu. case with the ending -I, the objective function of the -i-stem nouns was expressed by the nom. plu. case with the endings -IE and -ѣE. One example of such use was found in the Laurentian Chronicle:

togda zh gonjashas okannii ot Torzhku,  
Seregerskym putem nolni do Ignacha křsta,  
a vse LJUDIE sekushche, aki travu, za  
sto vrstѣ do Novagoroda ne doshli (La.,  
p. 522).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, there were three instances of the old nom. plu. case-endings -IE and -E in the acc. function:

i na staviti po gradomъ. tŝrkvi i popy.  
i LJUDIE na krŝhchnie privoditi. po vsemъ  
grad i selomъ (Hyp., p. 103); i mjatezhъ  
bys velikъ v gorodѣ vъ Polcha mnozi bo  
khotjakhu Rogъvoloda. odva zhe oustanovi  
LJUDѣE Rostislavъ i odarivъ mnogymi darmi  
(Hyp., p. 494); samъ zhe outeche. a LJUDIE  
poima (Hyp., p. 830).

The use of the old nom. plu. case in the acc. function was motivated by the tendency to differentiate the nom. and acc. cases at the time when the nom. case was acquiring the case-ending -I, which was the same as the acc. case-ending. Shakhmatov correctly explained this phenomenon in the following words:

Vsledstvie étoho v étikh imenakh vinitel'nyj padezh množestvennogo čisla v svoej staroj forme, ne vytesnennoj formoj roditel'nogo množestvennogo, podvergsja vlijaniju formy imenitel'nogo množestvennogo, vytesnjalsja eju po toj imenno prichine, čto v drugikh imenakh (neodushevlěnykh i odushevlěnykh) vinitel'nyj i imenitel'nyj množestvennogo sovpali v odnoj forme.<sup>3</sup>

It should also be stated that the identity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases with the common ending -I was not tolerated for syntactical reasons, and because the animate-inanimate category could not be maintained.

Additionally, the acc. case of the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns referring to persons was expressed by the ending -Ě, which appeared once in the Hypatian Chronicle in the following sentence: "i poproda vsĕ Kyevĕ. igumeny i popy i chernĕtsĕ. i chernitsĕ. Latinu i GOSTĚ i zatvori vsĕ Kyjany" (Hyp., p. 579).

Although the vast majority of the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns differentiated their nom. and acc. plu. cases by retaining the old case-endings, the gen. plu. case was also utilized for the objective function. In fact, the gen.-acc. plu. case was represented by two different case-endings: the gen. plu. case-ending -b of the -jo-stem nouns, and the gen. plu. case-ending -II of the -i-stem nouns.

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<sup>3</sup>Shakhmatov, op. cit., p. 230.

The gen.-acc. case with the ending -ь occurred twice in the Laurentian Chronicle:

poproda vesь Kyevъ. igumeny. i popy.  
chernьtsi. i chernitsi. Latinu. i zat-  
vory. i GOSTь i vsě Kyjany (La., p. 367);  
i priide v Novъgorod i reche Novogorodtsemъ.  
ne khoshchu ou vas knzhiti. idu k Chernegovou.  
i GOSTь ko mně puskaite (La., pp. 509-510).

The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -II of the -i-stem nouns appeared four times in the Hypatian Chronicle, in these sentences:

i po mestomъ. postavljaja popy. i daja  
imenija svoego ourokъ. i velja imъ ou-  
chiti LJUDII i prikhoditi chasto kъ  
tsrkvamъ. popovi bo chasto dostoitъ  
ouchiti LUDII. ponezhe tomu estъ po-  
rucheno Bgmъ. i oumnozhishasja proz-  
vuteri. i ljudьe khristъjanъstěi i  
radovashesja Jaroslavlъ. vidja mnogi  
tsrkvi i LJUDI křstnyi zělo (Hyp.,  
p. 141); a samъ ěkha Kourъskou. ousta-  
vliatъ LJUDII (Hyp., p. 328); i simъ  
na oudolъ Danilovi zhe i Vasilkovi.  
ponouzhajushehima LJUDII svoikhъ (Hyp.,  
p. 769).

The utilization of the two different gen.-acc. plu. cases by the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns indicates that the substitution process had made its appearance in these nouns. Its purpose was to eliminate the morphological similarity between the nom. and acc. plu. cases, and to provide the necessary means for the expression of the animate-inanimate category.

In both Chronicles, only the old acc. plu. case-ending -I was found after various prepositions.

The following nine expressions illustrate the use of this case in the Laurentian Chronicle:

i se rekshi moljashesja na šna. i ZA LJUDI. po vsja noshchi i dni (La., p. 64); tu zhe krasno nosjashcha sь khšmb tsrštvueeta vseгда. moljashchasja ZA novyja LJUDI khšsjanьskyja. i srodniky svoja (La., p. 138); v neizhe sь mchnky. jako mchnka ZA LJUDI svoja molitsja (La., p. 139); bl uda ikhь. i bdja za za ne moljasja. za poruchenoe emu stado. i ZA LJUDI khšsjanьskyja. za zemlju Rusьskuju. izhe i po otshestvii tvoemь ot seja zhizni. molishisja ZA LJUDI vernyja (La., p. 213); molisja za poruchenoe tobe stado. ZA LJUDI khřsjanьskyja. za knjazja. i za zemlju Rostovьskuju (La., p. 392); i ti budutь mně v LJUDI (La., p. 99); Vьzrěvь na nbo rech zh KHse Bě stvorivyi nbo i zemlju. prizri NA novyja LJUDI sija (La. p. 118); togo zhe lěta morь bys NA LJUDI. i na koni (La., p. 530).

The Hypatian Chronicle contained the following eight sentences in which the prepositions governed the old acc. case:

i se rekshe moljashesja za šna i ZA LJUDI. po vsja dni i noshchi (Hyp., p. 52); sь khmь tsrštvueete vseгда moljashesja ZA novyja LJUDI. khřstьjanьskyja (Hyp., p. 126); vь tsrkvi dkhmь bžhstvně prosvěshchaete v neizhe s mchnky jako mchnka ZA LJUDI svoja molita (ibid.); i moljasja za poruchenoe emu stado. i ZA LJUDI khřstьjanьskija. i za zemlju Rouskuju. izhe po otshestvii ego moljasja ZA LJUDI vernьja. i za svoja ouchnkii (Hyp., p. 204); i jako štii pravověrnii tšri proљjasha krovisvoja. strazhjushche ZA LJUDI svoja (Hyp., p. 350); i budu imь vь Bь. i ti budutь mně Vь LJUDI (Hyp., p. 386); Izjaslavь zhe rech imь. jazь vozhju Ougry. i vse zemli no ne NA svoi LJUDI. no kto mi vorogь (Hyp., p. 410).

In view of the fact that the prepositions govern the acc. plu. rather than the nom. plu. case, there was no confusion

concerning the function of the cases which were morphologically identical. Thus, the animate-inanimate category was able to express itself adequately in both Chronicles in the masc. plu. animate nouns appearing after various prepositions.

To summarize the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the masc. plu. -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting persons, the following observations are in order.

First, the masc. plu. -u-stem nouns were exempted from the substitution process because their nom. and acc. plu. cases differed both phonetically and morphologically. There was no need to replace the old acc. case by the gen. case. Therefore, the animate-inanimate category depended on the distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases.

Second, in the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns signifying persons, the animate-inanimate category was upheld by the morphological differentiation between the nom. and acc. plu. cases. Their case-endings were -IE and I, respectively. The acc. plu. case with the ending -I appeared forty-five times in the Laurentian and sixty-three in the Hypatian Chronicle. There was only one example of the acc. case with the ending -IE, identical with the nom. case, in the Laurentian and three instances of the same case in the Hypatian Chronicle. This inverse use of the nom. plu. case for the acc. function was undoubtedly dictated by the necessity to have dissimilar nom. and acc. plu. cases.

The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -II was recorded four times, only in the Hypatian Chronicle. This is a clear indication that the substitution process was totally absent in the Laurentian Chronicle in the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns.

Finally, in post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -I was used nine times in the Laurentian and eight times in the Hypatian Chronicle.

Hence, <sup>in</sup>the masc. plu. -u-stem nouns denoting persons, the animate-inanimate category depended on the distinction between the old nom. and acc. plu. cases. In the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns, the same category was supported by the different nom. and acc. plu. cases and to some degree by the gen.-acc. case.

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<sup>4</sup>It should be mentioned that there are a number of expressions, consisting of the prepositions and the old acc. case, and used adverbially as, for example in Modern Russian: 'vyjti v ljudi', 'vybratb v deputaty', and others.

TABLE V

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE  
 OLD ACC. AND GEN.-ACC. PLU. CASES IN THE MASC.  
 -U- AND -I-STEM NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS IN THE  
 LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

TYPE OF PLU. NOUN	C A S E	ENDING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
-u-stem	a. Old Acc	-Y	13	12
	b. Prep + Old Acc	-Y	2	1
-i-stem	a. Old Acc	-I	45	63
	b. Acc=Old Nom	-IE	1	3
	c. Acc=Old Acc	-Ě	0	1
	d. Acc=Old Gen	-b	2	0
	e. Acc=Old Gen	-II	0	4
	f. Prep + Old Acc	-I	9	8

## CHAPTER VIII

### ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE MASC. PLU. -O- AND -JO-STEM NOUNS DENOTING VARIOUS PEOPLES

#### Introduction

This chapter will examine the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns signifying various peoples, with respect to their social classes, national or tribal origins, and places of habitation.

One group of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns had a simple stem in the sing. and plu. numbers, and followed a regular -o-stem declension in both numbers. The second group of the -o-stems included nouns which retained the singulative suffix -IN- in the sing. number, but deleted it in the plu. number. The third group of masc. plu -o-stem nouns had suffixes -ĚN-, -AN- and -JAN- in the plu. number.

With respect to the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the masc. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples, they were originally dissimilar; but due to the simplification of the plu. nom. and acc. cases-endings they were becoming identical. For this reason, the substitution process appeared in this group of nouns.

1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc.  
Plu. -o- and -jo-Stem Nouns Denoting  
Various Peoples in the Laurentian  
and Hypatian Chronicles

As in the case of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns referring to persons so, too, in the same stem nouns denoting peoples, the substitution process was unknown in the OCS and early East Slavic texts.

The examination of the material in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles<sup>1</sup> indicates that the substitution was present in a number of these nouns. In the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns which had a simple stem in the sing. and plu. numbers, the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings were represented by the vowels -I and -Y, respectively. In the Laurentian Chronicle, these nouns occurred twenty-nine times with the acc. plu. case-ending -Y in the following sentences:

Akolzdo zhe. i Dirz. ostasta vř gradě semz.  
i mnogi VARJAGI skupista (La., p. 21); Poide  
Olegz poimz voja mnogi VARJAGI (La., p. 22);  
Igorz zhe sovкупivz voi mnogi. VARJAGI Rusz  
i Poljany (La., p. 45); Volodimerz zhe sobra  
voi mnogi. VARJAGI. i Slovęni (La., p. 76 and  
pp. 130, 143, 143, 151, 151; posem zhe Ougri  
prognasha VOLzKHI. i nasledisha zemlju tu  
(La., p. 25); Ide Olegz na Greky... poja zhe  
mnozhestvo Varjag. i Slovenz ... i Vjatich.  
i KHORVATY. i Dulęby (La., p. 29); odolę

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<sup>1</sup>Detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases of different masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples can be examined in Table VI at the end of the chapter.

Stōslavъ Kozaromъ. i grad ikhъ i Belu Vězhju vzja. i JASY pobēdi i KASOGY (La., p. 65; i my slyshakhom jako mnogy strany poplēnisha. JASY. OBEZY. KASOGY i Polovetsъ bezbozhnykh mnozhstvo izbisha (La., p. 446); i bēdy jazhe bys imъ ot nikh. slyshakhom bo jako mnogy strany poplēnisha JASY. OBEZY, KOSAGY (La., p. 504); togo zhe lēta priidosha kŋzi is Tatarъ, pobēdivshe JASY (La., p. 525); okanъnyi zhe Stōpolkъ rech. eliko zhe Ljakhovъ po gorodu izbibaite ja. i izbisha LJAKHY (La., pp. 143-144); i povoevasta Ljadskuju zemlju. i mnogy LJAKHY privedosta i razdēlisha ja (La., 150); to slyshavъ Izjaslavъ ostavi LJAKHY (La., p. 173) pp. 174, 174, 323, 427); Ide Volodimerъ na Bolgary. sъ Dobrynoju sъ voemъ svoimъ v lodъjakh. a TORъKI beregomъ privede na konikh (La., p. 84) Volodimerъ zhe shedъ pobēdi TъRKY (La., p. 204); i navoropisha izgonom. kъ Barochju. i ko Bronъ knjazju. khotjashchju poloniti TORKY prokljatyja (La., p. 295); i vygna TORKY v gorodъ toe nochi (*ibid.*). a nashi pogna-sha sēkushche poganyja BOKHMITY (La., p. 390).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, a similar group of nouns appeared forty-seven times with the old acc. case-ending -Y. Some of the examples were:

Ide Olegъ na Sevjary. i pobēdi SĚVERY, i vъzlozhi na nikhъ danъ legъku (Hyp., p. 17); a po semъ zhe pridoshа Ougre Bēlyii. i naslēdishа zemlju Slovēnъskuju. prognavshe VOLOLOKHY (Hyp., p. 9); po semъ zhe Ougre prognasha VOLOKHY. i naslēdishа zemlju tu (Hyp., p. 18); I izgnasha VARJAGY za more (Hyp., p. 14); Askoldъ zhe i Dirъ. ostasta v gorodē semъ. i mnogy VARJAGY sъvokupista (Hyp., p. 15); Poide Olgъ poemъ voi svoi mnogy. VARJAGY Chudъ (Hyp., p. 16 and pp. 34, 64, 115, 127, 130, 131, 136, 136, 138, 138); odolē Stoslavъ Kozaromъ. i gorodъ ikhъ Bēlu Vezhju vzja. i JASY pobēd i KASOGY (Hyp., p. 53); Ide Volodimerъ na Bolgary. sъ Dobryneju ouemъ svoimъ v lodъjakhъ. a TORKY beregomъ privede na Konekhъ (Hyp., p. 71); i prisunushasja. kъ Baruchju. rekshe vozmemъ TORKY ikhъ. bē zhe vēstъ Jaropolku i povelē gnati ljudi. i TORKY v Baruchъ (Hyp., pp. 289 and 472); eliko zhe Ljakhovъ po gorodomъ izbisha LJAKHY Boleslav zhe bēzha is

Kyeva (Hyp., p. 131); to slyshavъ Izjaslavъ. ostavi LJAKHY (Hyp., p. 163); i raspushcha LJAKHY na pokormъ. i izъbivakhu LJAKHY otai vъzvratitisja Boleslavъ. vъ zemlju svoju (ibid., et passim.); sъkupia vsju svoju družinu i poide poima sъ soboju Vjachъslavlъ polkъ vsъ. i vsi Chernii KLOBUKY. i Kyjany lutshii (Hyp., p. 446); i posla Rostislavъ. Volodislava Ljakha s voi. i vъzvedosha GRECHNIKY (Hyp., p. 526); a nashi pognasha. sekoushche poganyja. BOKHMITY (Hyp., p. 626).

Since the nom. plu. case of various nouns denoting peoples was represented by the old nom. plu. case-ending -I (Torts-I, Varjaz-I, Grets-I) and endings -OVE, -OVĚ (Ljakh-OVE, Ljakh-OVĚ, Chekh-OVE, Volkh-OVE), as well as by the endings -Ě and -E (Ches-Ě, Khutan-Ě, Grets-Ě and Got-E), rather than by the new nom. case-ending -Y, there was no confusion of the subject and object relationship. Thus, the animate-inanimate category was able to maintain its opposition in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns signifying various peoples in both Chronicles.

As a result of the levelling process of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings in the -o-stem nouns, there were five examples of the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y in these nouns in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following sentences:

izveshchaemuju ljubovъ neprevratnou. i nepostymu. tako i vy GREKY. da khranit takozh ljubovъ. ko kŋzъmъ nashim svetlymъ Rouskym (La., p. 34); V sikh vremena priide Semionъ plenjaa Frakiju. GREKIZH poslasha po Pecheněgi (La., p. 42); a Bolgare so Greky stoupishas. i peresecheni bysha GREKY (ibid.),

The Hypatian Chronicle had only one example of the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y. It read: "LJAKHY zhe noudjashe ěkhati ko gradou. odinako zhe ikh ne khotjashchimъ" (Hyp., p. 823). In addition, this Chronicle contained one example of the old nom. plu. case in the acc. function, as seen in the following sentence:

potomъ zhe pozva Dŭvdъ Chŕnii KLOBOUTSI  
vsi. i tou popishasja ou nego vsi Cher-  
nii Klotsi (Hyp., p. 682).

In these instances, the respective functions of the nouns with the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y and the old nom. plu. case-ending -I were determined from the context which, in turn, supported the animate-inanimate opposition in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns without any suffixes.

Plu. nouns, with the suffix -IN- in the sing. number, which denoted various peoples and members of social classes, had the ending -E in the nom. plu. case, and the ending -Y in the acc. plu. case. In addition, the acc. plu. case was expressed by the ending -E, which was similar to the nom. plu. case-ending, and by the old gen. plu. case with the ending -ъ. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the acc. plu. case with the ending -Y (-I) appeared twenty-nine times in the following nouns:

i Cbri /izhe/ khodisha na Arъklijja ... i pri-  
muchisha DULĚBY. sushchaja Slověny (La., p. 12);  
Ide Olegъ na Gredky. Igorja ostavi v Kieve.  
poja /zhe/ i Khorvaty. i DCULĚBY. i Tivertsi  
(La., p. 29); tŕrъ zhe kŕti knjazja ikhъ. i  
BOLJARY vsja. i mirъ stvori s Bolgary (La.,  
p. 19); oni zhe pridoshja ko tŕrju. i sozva

tšr̄b BOLJARY (La., p. 71); Sozva Volodimer̄b BOLJARY svoja i startsi grad̄bskiē (La., p. 106); i sozva knjaz̄b BOLJARY svoja i startsa, (La., p. 108 and pp. 125, 144, 150, 297, 300, 441 495); I Leon̄b tšr̄b naja CUGRY na Bolgary (La., p. 29); a Jaroslava posla v Ugry. vabja CUGRY na Volodarja. a sam ide Kyevu (La., p. 270); i sbisha CUGRY aky v mjach̄b (La., p. 271 and 323, 335, 336, 365, 470); Semion̄b zhe ouvidēv̄b na Cugry vzratisja. i Cugre protivu poidosha. i pobēdisha BOLGARY (La., p. 29); Ide Volodimer̄b na Bolgary... i pobēdi BOLGARY (La., p. 84); i posem khotel̄b esm̄b perejati BOLGARY Dunaiskyē (La., p. 266); knjaz̄b zhe Ondrēj vorotisja s pobēdoju. vidēv̄b poganyja BOLGARY izbity (La., p. 352); takozhe i Bolgare poslasha vēšt̄b. gl̄shche idut̄b R̄bs̄b i najali sut̄b k sobē PECHENĚGI (La., p. 45); Igor̄b zhe sovokupiv̄b voi mnogi... i Tēver̄btsē i PECHENĚGI naa (La., p. 45); i sobra voi. i progna PECHENĚGI v poli. i bys mir̄b (La., p. 67); Pride Oleḡb iz Grek̄b... i isēche KOZARY (La., p. 205); i ezhe bys nad nimi bezbozhnymi. pobēdisha i TATARI (La., p. 504); Danilovi zhe krēpko iz̄bivajushche TATARY. vidēv̄b to M̄bstislav̄b Nēmyi (La., p. 507).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y (-I) was represented fifty-two times in the following nouns:

tšsr̄b zhe kr̄sti knjazja ikh̄b. i BOJARY vsja (Hyp., p. 13); se slyshav̄b tšr̄b posla k̄b Igorevi lūt̄shii BOJARY (Hyp., p. 34); Ide Oleg(1)̄b na Greky. Igorja ostaviv̄b Kyevē. poja mnozh̄bstvo Varhaḡb. i Sloven̄b... i Radimichi. i Khorvaty. i DULĚBY. i Tivertsī (Hyp., p. 21); Roman̄b zhe s̄bra BOJARY i sanovniki (Hyp., p. 35 and pp. 58, 58, 93, 94, 109, 131, 137, 291, 327, 343, 380, 570, 800, 809, 830, 878, 878, 905, 033); Leon̄b tšsr̄b naja CUGRY na Bolgary (Hyp., p. 20); Stopolk̄b zhe posadi. s̄na svoego Volodimeri M̄bstislava...vabja CUGRY na Volodarja (Hyp., p. 245 and pp. 246, 301, 342, 408, 410, 416, 419, 420, 442, 446, 767, 767, 769, 802, 809); Ougri protivu poidosha. i pobēdisha BOLGARY (Hyp., p. 20); i tako pobēdi BOLGARY (Hyp., p. 71); i po sem̄b khotel̄b esm̄b. perejati BOLGARY. Dunaiskyja (Hyp., p. 240); zane nepogodbe est̄b zimē. vovati BOLGARY iduchi ne

idjaku (Hyp., p. 565); Igorъ sovokupi voja mnogi. Varjagy ... i PECHENĚGY naja (Hyp., p. 34); i s̄bra voja i progna PECHENĚGY (Hyp., p. 55); i zajasha PECHENĚGI i Torъki (Hyp., p. 255); i is̄eche KOZARY izhe b̄sha sv̄tnitsi (Hyp., p. 1196); i vrati litse svoe vzyti. v̄b Eřslm̄ pobiditi ZHIDY (Hyp., p. 263); to ti ne Putjatinъ dvorъ ni sotsъkikhъ. no i ZHIDY grabiti. i paki yi poidutъ (Hyp., p. 276); ljud̄e zhe vidivshe TATARY na gorod̄e. oustr̄emishasja pob̄gnut do ditinъtsa (Hyp., p. 853); ja zhe khochju praviti TATARY a ty sedi (Hyp., p. 929).

Since the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y differed from the nom. plu. case, which had the endings -I, -E, -Ě, -OVE, -OVI, and -OVI, the possibility of syntactical confusion between the subject and object was limited in the nouns with the suffix -IN denoting various peoples. In fact, there was one instance, where the nom. plu. case was represented by the ending -Y, which was similar to the acc. plu. case-ending. This single example occurred in the Hypatian Chronicle: "Pridosha BOLĚGARY v̄ry Bokh̄mych̄" (La., p. 84).

Examples of the nom. plu. case-ending -E, appearing in the acc. plu. function, were recorded four times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

se slyshavъ t̄sr̄b̄. posla k Igorju luchī BOLJARE. molja i gl̄ja (La., p. 45); Romanъ che sozva BOLJARE i sanovniki (La., p. 46); i sozva t̄sr̄b̄ BOLJARE svoja v polatu (La., p. 70); knjazъ zhe velikyi Kostjantinъ v ty dn̄b̄ odari knjazi i BOLJARE mnogymi dary (La., p. 501).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same noun occurred three times in the acc. plu. function with the case-ending -E:

naoutrija zhe Stǫpolkъ. sozva BOJARE i  
Kijane i pověda imъ (Hyp., p. 233);  
i privede BOJARE vsi k nemou (Hyp., p. 747);  
i bivshimъsja s nimi. poimasha Ljadъskie  
BOJARE (Hyp., p. 775).

This Chronicle also had one example of the nom. plu. case-ending -OVĚ, which was used in the acc. plu. function:

vidja bĕdou strashъnou i groznou. i  
priide Perejaslavlju i srĕtosha TATAROVĚ  
ottouda zhe ěkha kъ Kouremĕstĕ (Hyp.,  
p. 806).

Although the endings -E and -OVĚ were of the nom. plu. case, the context indicated that the nouns appeared in the objective function. Hence, the animate-inanimate category was maintained in the nouns with the suffix -IN-, denoting members of a social class and various peoples.

In addition to the above acc. plu. case-endings, this group of nouns also utilized the old gen. plu. case with the ending -ъ for the acc. function. This case was recorded fourteen times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

slyshavshe se Stǫpolkъ. idushcha Jaroslava.  
pristroi be-shchisla voi. /Rous. i PECHENĚGъ.  
i izyd protivu emou.../ (La., p. 141);  
naoutrija zhe Stǫpolkъ sozva BOLJARъ i Kyjanъ  
i povĕda imъ (La., p. 259); Vjacheslavъ zhe  
se slyshavъ nadĕjasja na stareishinstvo.  
poslushavъ BOLJARъ svoikh (La., p. 314);  
Gjurgevi zhe poslushavshju BOLJARъ. vyvedъ  
iz VYshegoroda śna svoego Andrĕa (La.,  
p. 326 and pp. 375, 382, 402, 402, 441, 446,  
481, 481); ane nepogodbe es zimĕ vovati  
BOLGARъ. i poduche ne idjakhu (La., p. 364);

i obrati TATARŭ vŭspjatŭ ot rĕky Dnĕpra na zemlju vŭstochnuju (La., p. 509)

The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -ŭ was found nine times in the Hypatian Chronicle in the following sentences:

Vjacheslavŭ zhe se slyshavŭ nadĕjasja na starishŭstvo. i posloushavŭ BOJARŭ svoikhŭ (Hyp., p. 330); Djurgevi zhe posloushavshju BOJARŭ i vyvedŭ iz Vyshegoroda. sŭna svoego Andreja (Hyp., p. 394); a sama knjazja mlada sushcha slushasta BOJARŭ. a bojare ouchakhutŭ na mnogoe imanie (Hyp., p. 598 and 718, 782); poslalŭ esmŭ vozvoditŭ TATARŭ. a samŭ pri-stravajusja (Hyp., p. 930); poslalbŭ bo bjashetŭ vozvoditŭ TATARŭ. na snŏvtja svoego, (ibid. ); bratŭ moi poslalŭ vozvoditŭ TATARŭ (ibid. ).

The use of the gen.-acc. plu. cases in both Chronicles demonstrates that the substitution had appeared in the nouns with the singulative suffix -IN- denoting various peoples. Its manifestation was motivated by the syntactical reasons; to distinguish the nom. and acc. plu. cases, and to uphold the animate-inanimate category in these nouns.

In post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y (-I) of the -IN-suffix nouns appeared forty-seven times after various prepositions in the Laurentian Chronicle:

tĕmzhe i iz Rusi mozhetŭ iti po Volzĕ V BOLARY i vŭ Khvalisy (La., p. 7); I rĕsha imŭ idĕte pervoe V BOLGARY. i ispytaite pervoe vĕru ikh (La., p. 107 and 108, 147); pobĕgni V PECHENĒGI. i privedeshi mi. i ne poslusha ego (La., p. 78); Varjashko zhe vidĕvŭ jako oubŕenŭ bys Jaropolkŭ bĕzha sŭ dvora V PECHENĒGI (ibid.); i poide Jaroslavŭ na Stŏpolka. i bĕzha Stŏpolkŭ V PECHENĒGY (La., p. 144); bĕzhashchju emu Vŭ OUGRY. i nacha pomyslŭjati. jako izbŕju vsju bratŭju svoju (La., p. 139); tomŭ zh let vedena

Peredъslava dshchi Stōpolcha. V UGRY. za korole-  
vichъ. avgusta (La., p. 280 and pp. 336, 352, 469);  
Velikiy knjaz Jaroslavъ. poĕkha V TATARY k Batyevi  
(La., p. 470); Vasilii Vsevolodich. i s svoimi  
muzhi. poĕkhasha V TATARY k Batyevi (ibid.,); i s  
synovtsi poĕkha V TATARY k Batyevi (La., p. 471,  
et passim); I Leonъ tšrъ naja Ougry NA BOLGARY  
(La., p. 29); Ide Stōslavъ na Dunai i NA BOLGARY  
(La., p. 65); Ide Volodimerъ NA BOLGARY. sъ Do-  
brynoju sъ voemъ svoimъ v lodъjakh (La., p. 84,  
et passim); Semionъ zhe ouvidĕvъ NA OUGRY vzratisja,  
(La., p. 29); i vorotisja Dvddъ. i poidosta NA  
OUGRY (La., p. 270 and pp. 271, 311); Postavlennъ  
tšrъ Romanъ vъ Grekokh. a Igore voevashe NA PE-  
CHENĚGI (La., p. 43 and 127, 279); Volodimertsi  
pustisha po strĕlĕ NA TATARY. i Tatarove takozhe  
pustisha po strĕlĕ (La., pp. 461 and 516); Greky  
poslasha PO PECHENĚGI (La., p. 42); outro zhe  
povelĕ poslati PO PECHENĚGY (La., p. 128).

Similar combinations of prepositions and the old acc. plu.  
case-ending in -Y (-I) appeared sixty times in the  
Hypatian Chronicle in the following phrases:

tĕmъ zhe iz Rusi mozhetъ iti po Volzĕ. V BOLGARY.  
i vъ Khvalisy (Hyp., p. 6); i rĕsha imъ. idetĕ  
pervoĕ V BOLGARY. ispytaite vĕru ikhъ (La.,  
p. 93 and pp. 94, 135); i re emu Varjazhъko. ne  
khodi knjazhe oubъjutъ tja. pobĕgni V PECHENEGY  
(Hyp., pp. 66 and 66); bezhashchju emu  
Vъ OUGRY. i nacha pomyslĭjati jako izbъju  
vsju bratъju svoju (Hyp., p. 126); v tom  
zhe lĕtĕ/ vedena Peredъslava. dshchi Stōpolcha  
VO OUGRY. za korolevichъ (Hyp., p. 256);  
toto zhe lĕta vedosha. Volodimerъnu. Ofimъju  
Vъ OUGRY za korolja (Hyp., p. 273 et passim);  
izgnavshju Otroka VO OBEZY. za Zhelĕznaja  
vrata (Hyp., p. 716); posla i VO OBEZY reka.  
Volodimerъ umerlъ estъ (Hyp., p. 716);  
Mikhailъ tšrъ izyde s voi beregom. i moremъ  
NA BOLGARY (Hyp., p. 13); Leonъ tšrъ naja  
Ougry na BOLGARY (Hyp., p. 20); Ide Stoslavъ  
na Dunai. NA BOLGARY (Hyp., p. 53 and pp. 71,  
286, 625); Semenъ zhe ouvĕdavъ. NA OUGRY vъzvratī-  
sja (Hyp., p. 20 and pp. 245, 737, 786, 804,  
888); Ide Stoslavъ NA KOZARY. slyshavshe zhe  
Kozare. izydosha protivu sъ knjazemъ svoimъ  
(Hyp., p. 53); Volodimeru shedshju k Novugorodu.  
po verkhъnie voĕ. NA PECHENEGY. bĕ bo ratъ

velika (Hyp. p. 112); i khozhashe ŠKVĚŽĚ PE-  
CHENEGY gīja (Hyp., p. 54); naotrěja zhe  
posla PO PECHENĚGY (Hyp., p. 113); oderzha  
zemlju svoju velichestvomъ. olny PO TATARY.  
a sěmo po Ljakhy po Litvou (Hyp., p. 933);  
i paki ti podutъ. na jatrovъ tvoju i NA  
BOJARY. i na manastyre (Hyp., p. 276),

The presence of various prepositions governing the old acc. plu. case, clearly indicated the objective function of the nouns and thus upheld the animate-inanimate opposition in these nouns in both Chronicles.

There was only one example of the nom. plu. case with the ending -E in the acc. function after a preposition in the Hypatian Chronicle: "Sъvet zhe stvorisha Igorevichi. NA BOJARE Galichkyi" (Hyp., p. 723).

The examination of the masc. plu. nouns with <sup>the</sup> suffix -IN- in the sing. number denoting members of a social class and various peoples showed that the old acc. plu. case, both alone and after prepositions, was widely used in both Chronicles. Since it differed from the nom. plu. case, the animate-inanimate category relied largely on the morphological distinction between the cases. It is evident that the animate-inanimate opposition depended on the context, and on the old gen.-acc. plu. case. The use of the gen.-acc. plu. case shows the presence of the substitution process in this group of nouns.

Concerning the masc. plu. nouns with the suffix -ĚN-, only one noun, 'slověninъ', was recorded in both Chronicles. The nom. plu. case of this noun was represented by the case-ending -E, as well as by the case-endings -Ě, -I and -Y. The acc. plu. case had these endings: -I, -E, -Ě, and -Y.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the acc. plu. case-ending -I was recorded four times, while each of the case-endings -E and -Ě occurred once:

Poide Olegъ poimъ voja mnogi Varjagi. Chjudъ SLOVĚNI. Merju. i vse Krivichi (La., pp. 22-23); Igorъ zhe sovkupivъ voi mnogi. Varjagi Rusъ i Poljany. SLOVĚNI i Krivichi (La., p. 45); Volodimerъ zhe sobra voi mnogi. Varjagi. i SLOVĚNI. Chudъ i Krivichi (La., p. 76); Jaroslavъ sъbra voi mnogъ. Varjagy i SLOVĚNI. pride Kyevu (Hyp., p. 151); and Ide Olegъ na Gredky. Igorja ostavi v Kievě. poja zhe mnozhestvo Varjag. i Slovenъ. i Chjud. i SLOVENE. i Krivichi. i Merju. i Derevljany (La., p. 29); Jaroslavъ zhe sovkupivъ Rusъ. i Varjagy. i SLOVĚNĚ. poide protivu Boleslavu. i Stopolku (La., p. 143).

Since the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings were represented by the vowel -I, there was a possibility of misinterpreting the two functionally different cases. In the cited examples, the acc. plu. case was determined through the context and the fact that the noun 'slověni' appeared in the objective function, along with the other nouns.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, however, this group of nouns was represented by the acc. plu. case-ending -Y in these five sentences:

Poide Olegъ poemъ voi svoi mnogy. Varjagy Chjudъ. SLOVĚNY. Merju. Vesъ. Krivichi (Hyp., p. 16); Igorъ sovkupi voja mnogy. Varjagy. i Rusъ. Polijany. i SLOVĚNY. i Krivichi. i Tivertsi (Hyp., p. 34); Volodimerъ zhe sъbra voi mnogy Varjagy i SLOVĚNY. i Chjudъ. i Krivichi (Hyp., p. 64); Jaroslavъ zhe mnozhestvo sovkupi Rusi. Varjagy SLOVĚNY poide protivu Boleslavu i Stopolku (Hyp., p. 130); Jaroslav zhe sobravъ voja mnogy Varjagy i SLOVĚNY. i priide Kyevu (Hyp., p. 138).

In view of the fact that the acc. plu. case-ending -Y differed from the nom. plu. case-endings -E, -Ě and -I in the Hypatian Chronicle, there was no confusion between the subject and object relationship. This distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases maintained the animate-inanimate category in this group of nouns.

In the post-prepositional use, the Laurentian Chronicle had two examples of the acc. plu. case-ending -I, while the Hypatian Chronicle contained three instances of the old acc. case-ending -Y. The following sentences illustrate this use in both Chronicles:

Volkhomъ bo nashedshemъ NA SLOVĚNI na Dunaiskija. i sedshemъ v nikh. i nasiljashchemъ imъ (La., p. 6); i poide po Dněpru gorě. i pride Vъ SLOVENI. idezhe nyně Novъgorodъ (La., p. 8); and, i poide po Dněpru gorě. i pride Vъ SLOVENY. idezhe ině Novъgorod (Hyp., p. 7); Volokhomъ bo nashedshikh NA SLOVENY. na Dunaiskye. i sedshimъ v nikhъ (Hyp., p. 5); si zhe Obri vovasha NA SLOVĚNY (Hyp., p. 9).

Although the nom. and acc. plu. cases were alike in the nouns with suffix <sup>the</sup> -ĚN-, the presence of the prepositions clearly indicated the acc. function of the nouns, and enabled the animate-inanimate category to express itself adequately in these nouns in both Chronicles.

The nouns with the suffix -AN- had the acc. plu. case-ending -Y. Eight sentences from the Laurentian Chronicle exemplify this case:

i tako ojazvľjakhu ljudi Plotъskyja i ego oblastъ. tѣmъ i chľvtsi glĭkhu. jako najavě bьjutъ POLOCHANY (La., p. 215); Jaropolĭku zhe skopivshju mnozhьstvo voi. Rostovtsě. POLOCHANY. Smoljane. Ougry (La., p. 305); i ide shjurinu svoemu v rutsě. i LOGOZHANY privede (La., p. 298); i viděvshi Izjaslavtsi knjazja svoego. i LOGOZHANY jazhe bes pakosti sutъ perejati (La., p. 298); i sovokupja Novgorodtsi. Pleskovichi. LA-DOZHANY. Novotorzhьtsi. i poide skoro (La., p. 430); Izjaslavъ bo zhenjashetъ GALICHANY. a Galichane Izjaslavľju družinu. i šna ego. Izjaslavu zhe ne vėdushchju. i tvorjashchju pobėdivshju GALICHANY (La., p. 340); kako zastupi grad svoi ot velikikh bedъ. i GRAZHANY svoja oukrěpljaetъ (La., p. 377).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, similar nouns also had the old acc. case-ending -Y, as evidenced by the following five instances:

i tako oujazvľjakhu ljudi Plotъskyja. i ego oblastъ. tѣmъ i chľvtsi glĭkhu. jako navě bьjutъ POLOCHANY (Hyp., p. 206); I potomъ Rogъvolodъ. sьvьkupi voe mnogy. POLCHANY i Rostislavъ Mьstislavichъ. pusti emu dva šna v pomočъ (Hyp., p. 496); i ide shjurinu svoemu v rutsě i LOGOZHANY privede. izhe bě vyvelъ izъ Logozhьstva i vidivshe Izjaslavchi knjazja svoego i LOGOZHANY (Hyp., p. 292); Izjaslavъ zhenjashetъ GALICHANY. a bratja ego bėzhasha (Hyp., p. 497).

There was only one example in this group of nouns where *the* nom plu. case with <sup>the</sup>ending -E functioned in the acc. plu. capacity. It appeared in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following sentence: "Jaropolku zhe skopivshju mnozhьstvo voi. Rostovtsě Polochany. Smoljane. Ougry. GALICHANE. i Berenděevъ .1. tysjachъ" (La., p. 305).

In the prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y appeared in both Chronicles; once in the Laurentian and twice in the Hypatian:

Jaroslavъ ide NA MAZOVSHANY. i pobědi e i knjazja ikhъ oubi Moislavъ (La., p. 155); i tako Biimъ soudomъ letěsta. dvě gorodnitsi s ljudmi. tako k ratnymъ. i NA prochaja GRAZHANY naide strakh (Hyp., 648); oněm zhe strělja jushchimъ. i kamenie meshchjushchimъ NA GRAZHANY (Hyp., p. 738).

As can be seen from the examples, the nouns with the suffix -AN- appeared predominantly with the ending -Y in the acc. case, both alone and with a preposition. Hence, the animate-inanimate category was preserved on the basis of different nom. and acc. plu. case-endings.

Finally, the acc. plu. case of the nouns with the suffix -JAN- referring to peoples and inhabitants was represented by the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y, case-endings -E and -Ě, as well as the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -Ъ.

The old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y occurred twenty-four times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

Pocha Olegъ vovati DEREVLJANY i primuchi voi imasha na nikk danъ. po cherne kune (La., p. 24); Ide /Olegъ/ na Sěverjane i pobědi SĚVERJANY i vřzložhi na nj danъ legъku, (*ibid.*); i bě obladaja Olegъ. POLJANY. i DEREVLJANY. /i/ SĚVERENY (*ibid.*); Ide Olegъ na Greky... poja /zhe/ mnozhestvo Varjag. i Slovenъ. i Chjud. i Slovene. i Krivichi. i Merju. i DEREVLJANY. i Radimichi. i POLJANY (La., p. 29); Igorъ zhe sovkupivъ voi mnogi. Varjagi Rusъ. i POLJANY. Slověny i Krivičhi (La., p. 45); knjazъ ouzhe pochalъ potjagněte družhina po knjazě. i pobědisna DEREVLJANY (La., p. 58); ashche obrjashchetъ

vъ vustě Dněprьskomъ Rusь. KORSUNJANY ryby lovjashcha. da ne tvorjaty imъ nikakozhe (La., p. 51); i posla na nja RIMLJANY (La., p. 87); i sъzva KYJANY i nacha dajati imъ iměnye (La., p. 132); i outeshista KYJANY (La., 173); i prished Mьstislavъ isěche /KYJANY/ izhe bēsha vysěkli Vseslava (La., pp. 173-174 and pp. 258, 316, 316, 316, 319, 342, 368); Бъ izbavi KHĚJANY ot poganykhъ (La., p. 163); i vъzvraty ot nego Бъ poganyja Bolgary. KHRĚJANY pokryvъ rukoju svoeju (La., p. 364); no i tu vběgъ. izyma Novgorodtsi. i SMOLJANY izhe bjakhu zashli gostьboju v zemlju ego (La., p. 500).

The same case-ending -Y, appearing in the acc. plu. function in various nouns, was also recorded twenty-four times in the Hypatian Chronicle, as illustrated by the following sentences:

Igorъ sovokupi voja mnogy. Varjagy. i Rusь. i POLJANY (Hyp., p. 34); knjazy ouzhe pochalъ. potjagnemъ družino po knjazi. i pobēdisha DEREVLJANY (Hyp., p. 46); i posla na nja RIMLAJNY (Hyp., p. 74); i sozva KYJANY. i nacha iměnie imъ dajati (Hyp., p. 118); i postavy Varjagy posredě na pravěi straně. KYJANY (Hyp., p. 138); i outeshista KYJANY (Hyp., p. 163 and pp. 325, 347, 400, 416, 419, 446, 506, 512, 579, 634); i Rostislavъ Mьstislavichъ. pusti emu dva šna v pomochъ. Roman i Ririka. i Vnēzda i SMOLJANY i Novgorodtsi (Hyp., p. 496); i nachasha i srětati lutshii muzhi SMOLJANY (Hyp., p. 528); i tako ouchrēzhashe vsju bratju. a v Lazorevu subotu. vsi PECHERJANY vziماشe (Hyp., p. 530); i vъzvraty Бъ poganyja ot nego. a KHSTĚJANY pokry rukoju svoeju (Hyp., p. 565); i vozdradovashasja. viděvshe KHRĚTNY otpoloneny ot poganykhъ (Hyp., p. 605); egda bo vidjashe. KHSTĚJANY poloneny ot poganykh (Hyp., p. 611); khraborъ bo bē jako i tourъ. revnovashe bo dēdou svoemou Monomakhou. pogoubivshemou poganyja IZMALTJANY. rekomyja Polovtsi (Hyp., p. 716); togda Volodimerъ i Monomakhъ. pilъ zolotom sholomomъ Donъ. i priemshju zemlju ikhъ vsju. i zagnavshju okanьnyja AGARJANY (Hyp., p. 716).

Since the nom. plu. case-ending -E differed from the acc. plu. case-ending -Y, there was no confusion between the subject and object relationship. By the same token, the animate-inanimate category was able to retain its opposition in this group of nouns.

In addition to the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y, the acc. plu. case was also represented by the ending -E, which coincided with the nom. plu. case-ending. In the Laurentian Chronicle, this case-ending occurred three times in the following expressions:

a sama otide kromě i povelě družině /svoei/ sěchi DEREVLJANE. i isěkosha ikhъ (La., p. 57); i postavi Varjagy posredě. a na pravěi storoně KYJANE. a na lěvěmъ krilě Novgorodtsi (La., p. 151); Jaropolku zhe skopivshju mnozhьstvo voi. Rostovtsě. Polochany. SMOLJANE. Ougry. Galichane (La., p. 305).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the nom.-acc. plu. case-ending in -E was represented four times:

naoutrija zhe Stōpolkъ. sozva bojare i KYJANE i pověda imъ (Hyp., p. 233); i Vsevolodъ zhe prizva k sobě KIJANE. i nacha molviti azъ esmъvelmi bolenъ (Hyp., p. 320); Igorъ zhe ěkha Kievou. i sozva KIJANE vsi na goru na Jaroslavlvъ dvorъ (Hyp., p. 321); Rostislavъ zhe ni vъ Kievъ ne vkhodja. poide polky svoimi. i poima Vsevolodicha Stōslava. i Mъstislava Izjaslavicha. i Torky KIJANE. i pereide Dņeprъ Vyshegorodu (Hyp., p. 472).

The same noun, denoting the inhabitants of Kiev, appeared three times with the acc. case-ending -Ě in the Hypatian Chronicle:

ashche li kto děetъ KIJANĚ isěklъ kotorěi zhe vysadili Vseslava is poruba (Hyp., p. 194); ide s nimi podъ Cugorskii i sъzva KIJANĚ. vsi ono zhe vsi tsělovasha. k nemou krstъ (Hyp., p. 320); i Stoŝlavъ poima loutshěi mouzhě KIJANĚ. i ěkha s nimi bratou svoemou Igorevi (Hyp., p. 322).

The appearance of the case-endings -E, on the one hand, and case-ending -Ě, on the other, in the nom. and acc. plu. cases, could have caused syntactical confusion concerning the subject and object function. In such instances, the specific role of the case in question was ascertained from the context, which also helped to maintain the animate-inanimate category.

The old gen. plu. case with the ending -ъ in the acc. plu. function occurred only once in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following sentence:

"a Vŝlodimera Rъskovъskogo Rъskovichi i SMOLNJANъ na rubeznъ poslasha provoditi" (La., p. 493).

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y was used exclusively in both Chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were four examples of this combination:

Ide Olegъ NA SEVERJANY i pobědi Severjany i vъzlozhi na nъ danъ (La., p. 24); ide Igorъ NA DEREVLJANY. i pobědivъ a. i vozlozhi na nъ danъ bolshi Olgovy (La., p. 42); i nacha mysliti NA DEREVLJANY. khotja primysliti bolbshjuju danъ (La., p. 54); i sŝnemъshemъsja oběma polkoma na skupъ. sunu kopъemъ Stoŝlavъ NA DEREVLJANY. i kopъbe letě skvozě oushi konevi (La., p. 58); i pechalenъ bys Izjazlavъ. i zhalovashesja NA KYJANY. i posla Izjaslavъ Volodimera v Gorodetsъ (La., p. 318).

The Hypatian Chronicle had eleven examples of prepositions which governed the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y.

They can be examined in these sentences:

tšsrju zhe otshedšshju. NA AGARJANY.  
 i doshedshju emu Chernoe rěky. vestb  
 eparkhb posla emu (Hyp., p. 15); Pocha  
 Olegb vovati NA DREVLJANY. i primuchivb  
 ja (Hyp., p. 17); Ide Igorb NA DREVLJANY.  
 i pobedivb vřzložhi na nja danb bolshju  
 Olygovi (Hyp., pp. 31-32); i prispě osenb  
 i nacha mysliti NA DEREVJANY. khotja pri-  
 mysliti bolshjuju danb (Hyp., p. 42);  
 i snemšshemasja oběma polkoma nakupb. sunu  
 kopbemb Stoslavb NA DEREVLJANY. i kopbe  
 letěvb skvozi oushi konevi (Hyp., p. 46);  
 i posla ja NA SMOLNJANY i povoevasha verkhb  
 Ougry (Hyp., p. 342); a to ouzhe Bgvi  
 souditi. i zhalova NA KIJANY (Hyp., p. 355);  
 ozhe dobrě naděeshisja NA KIJANY to ty samb  
 vēdaeshi ljudi svoja (Hyp., p. 414);  
 bē bo krěpokb na rati. vseгда bo tosnjashetšsja  
 oumreti za Rouskouju zemlju. i ZA KHRSTbJANY.  
 egda bo vidjashe. khstbjany poloneny  
 ot poganykh (Hyp., p. 611); aschche  
 nyně oumremb. ZA KHSTbJANY. to ochistivsjja  
 grěkhovb svoikh (*ibid.* ); oustavljaju  
 lovchee. NA BERESTbANY i v vēky za ikhb  
 koromolou (Hyp., p. 932).

Since the prepositions governing the acc. cases appeared only with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y, the animate-inanimate category relied on the distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases in the nouns with -JAN- suffix.

The examination of the plu. -JAN-suffix nouns denoting various peoples revealed that the old acc. case with the ending -Y predominated as a direct object as well as after prepositions in both Chronicles. The use of the acc. plu. case with the ending -E, which was identical with the nom. plu. case, was limited numerically in both Chronicles.

while the gen.-acc. plu. case was represented by a single example in the Laurentian Chronicle. On the basis of these considerations, one can state that the animate-inanimate category relied for its expression, in the majority of cases, on the different nom. and acc. plu. cases.

In addition to the nouns with suffixes -IN-, -ĚN-, -AN- and -JAN- denoting peoples, there was a group of masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns which signified both peoples and various tribes. The nom. plu. case-ending of these nouns was -I, while the acc. plu. case-ending was -Ě. As a result of the simplification of case-endings in the plural declensional system, the acc. plu. ending -Ě was replaced by the ending -I. Thus the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the -jo-stems became identical; namely -I.

Both Chronicles revealed the presence of the old acc. plu. case-ending -Ě, the new acc. plu. case-ending -I, and the old gen.-acc. case with the ending -Ъ.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Ě was represented seventeen times:

Igorъ zhe sovкупivъ voi mnogi. Varjagi Rusъ i Poljany. Slověni i Krivichi. i TĚVERЬTSĚ i Pecheněgi naa (La., p. 45); sbrěte e na rětsě Pishchaně. i pobědi RADIMICHĚ Volъchii Khvostъ (La., pp. 83-84); i vovoda nacha Stōpolchъ ēzdja vъzlē beregъ. oukarjati NOVGORODTSĚ glja (La., p. 142); i poimъ NOVGORODTSĚ i iměnye ikhъ (La., p. 146); i pobědi Jaroslavъ Brjachislaya. i NOVGORODTSĚ voroti Novugorodu (*ibid.*); Toe zhe zimy bishasja Novgorodtsi s Rostovtsi na Zhьdni

gorě. i pobedisha Rostovtsi. NOVGORODTSĚ.  
 i pobisha mnozhstvo ikhъ (La., 303); Oleg  
 zhe po prijatŭi grada. izŭima Rostovtsi.  
 i Běloozertsii. i SUZDALTSĚ (La., p. 237);  
 Voevasha Polovtsi okolo Zarechъska. i  
 posla po nikh Stōpolkъ. Janja. i Ivanka  
 Zakharъicha Kozarina. i ougonisha POLOVTSĚ.  
 i polonъ otjasha (La., p. 281); i pobēdisha  
 POLOVTSĚ Russkii knjazi (La., p. 290);  
 Toe zhe zimy Jaropolkъ. sogna voě Kyeвъsky ja.  
 a Gjurgi PEREJASLAVTSĚ (La., p. 303);  
 Jaropolku zhe skopivshju mnozhstvo voi.  
 ROSTOVTSĚ. Polochany. Smolnjany. Ougry.  
 Galichane (La., p. 305); i soykupivъ  
 družhinu svoju i voě i POLOVTSĚ (La., p. 321);  
 i slyshavъ Izjaslavъ byvshee skopi družhinu  
 svoju i BERENDICHĚ (La., p. 319); idet na mja  
 Volodimerko. i otsjuda Gjurge sъ Olgovichi.  
 poidi vborzě poima BERENDICHĚ (La., p. 327);  
 priēkhasha zhe so vseju siloju Rostovъskaja  
 zemlja. na Mikhalka k Volodimerju. i mnogo  
 zla stvorisha. MUROMTSĚ. i RJAZANTSĚ prive-  
 dosha (La., p. 373); vydosha sъ křsty protivu  
 Mstislavu i Jaropolku iz goroda. i vshed-  
 shim v gorodъ outěshista VOLODIMERTSĚ  
 (La., p. 374).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same acc. plu. case-ending  
 -Ě appeared forty-five times in the following sentences:

i pobēdi Jaroslavъ. Brjachislava. i NOVъGORODTSĚ.  
 i voroti i tu k Novugorodu (Hyp., p. 133); po-  
 slavъ sobravъ voě svoě. ROSTOVTSĚ Suzhdaltsi  
 Volodimertsii Perejaslavtsii BĚLOZĚRTSĚ. MUROMTSĚ.  
 i NOVGORODTSĚ i RJAZANTSĚ. i sochtavъ ě (Hyp.,  
 p. 573); i ottole pousti NOVGORODTSĚ. a samъ ide  
 Rogachevou grada. izoima ROSTOVTSĚ. i Belozertsii  
 SUZHDALъTSĚ i skova (Hyp., p. 227); i ousrēte i  
 ou Bonjakъ POLOVTSĚ. i poide Dvdъ i Bonjakъ. na  
 Stōshju. k Luchъku (Hyp., p. 247-248); i vřgo-  
 nivsše POLOVTSĚ. do Dunaja (Hyp., p. 257 et passim  
 (eighteen times)); i korolъ Ougry posla. pomoshchъ.  
 Berendichevъ 1 tysjashchъ. i TOUROVTSĚ i sobra  
 voi mnogy (Hyp., p. 301); no sřzvavsha VJATICĚ  
 i rēsha imъ (Hyp., p. 338); i ottuda ide ou  
 VjaticĚ. i zaja vsi VJATICĚ za to nezhe ne ide  
 po nemъ Stōslavlъ (Hyp., p. 502); poslasha podvoskēi  
 i BIRICHĚ po oulitsamъ klikati (Hyp., p. 369);

podъmolvilъ na tja ljudi BERENDICHĚ. i Kiany (Hyp., p. 372); a ottselě Djurgi sъ Olgovichi a poedi v borze poimja BERENDICHĚ samъ zhe Izjaslavъ s bojary svoimi (Hyp., p. 399 and pp. 445, 505, 512, 575); bratja zhe vsi pozhalovasha na Mъstislava. ozhe outaiŭsja ikhъ pusti v navoropъ. sĕdelbniky svoĕ i KOSHCHĚĚ (Hyp., p. 540); vidiŭ zhe se knъzъ Danilo jako Bou pospevajushchou mĕstou tomou nacha prizyvati. prikhodaĕ NĚMTSĚ i Rousъ (Hyp., p. 843).

In view of the fact that the nom. and the acc. plu. case-endings were represented by the vowels -I and -Ě, respectively, the animate-inanimate opposition depended on the former morphological distinction in these respective cases.

The new acc. plu. case-ending -I, identical with the nom. plu. case, appeared twenty-one times in the Laurentian Chronicle in the following nouns denoting various peoples:

Ide Olegъ na Greky. Igorja ostavi v Kievĕ. poja zhe mnozhestvo Varjag. i Slovenъ. i Chjud. i Slovene. i KRIVICHI. i Merju. i Derevljany. i RADIMICHI. i Poljany. i Sĕvero. i Vjatic. i Khorvaty. i Doulēby. i TIVERTSI (La., p. 29); Igorъ zhe sovкупivъ voi mnogi. Varjagi Rușъ i Poljany. Slověni i KRIVICHI. i Teverъtsĕ i Pechenĕgi naa (La., p. 45); Volodimerъ zhe sobra voi mnogi. Varjagi. i Slověni. Chudъ i KRIVICHI. i poide na Rogъvolada (La., p. 76); i ide na Oku rĕdu i na Volgu. i nalĕze VJATICHI. i rech Vjatichemъ, (La., p. 65); VJATICHI pobĕdi Stōslavъ i danъ na nikhъ vъzlozhi (*ibid.*); V sem zhe lĕtĕ i VJATICHI pobĕdi. i vъzlozhi na nъ danъ (La., p. 81); i postavi Varjagy posredĕ. a na lĕvemъ krilĕ NOVGORODTSI (La., p. 151); Slyshavъ zhe Kostjantinъ vĕstъ ot oŭsa svoego. nacha sovokupljati voĕ mnogy. i sovokupja NOVGORODTSI. PLESKOVICHI. Ladozhany. NOVOTORZHъTSI (La., p. 430); a knъzъ veliky otpusti NOVGORODTSI s Kolomny odarivъ bes chisla (La., p. 490); no i tu vĕgъ. izyma NOVGORODTSI. i Smolnjany (La., p. 500); Oleg zhe po

prijatli grada. izyema ROSTOVTSI. i BĚLOOZERTSI. i Suzdal'tse (La., p. 237); i paky na toi zhe storoně ou Krasna POLOVTSI pobedikhom (La., p. 249); reka emu povelz esi POLOVTSI. i ne ouspelz esi nichtozhe (La., p. 297 and pp. 321, 324, 335, 361); jako Rostislavz Gjurgevichz podmlvil na tja ljudi. i BERENDICHI i Kijany (La., p. 320); togdy zhe pride vestz Izjaslavu g Kyevu. ozhe snz ego pobezhenz. poima BERENDICHI. i Izjaslavya Dvdvicha (La., p. 336); poimz po sobe vse RJAZANTSI. i epspa ikhz Arsenbja (La., p. 434).

The Hypatian Chronicle revealed thirty-four examples of the new acc. plu. case-ending -I. Some of the nouns with this ending may be cited in the following sentences:

Poide Olgz poemz voj svoi mnogy. Varjagy Chjudz. Sloveny. Merju. Vesz. KRIVICHI. i prija gorodz i posadi v nezh muzhz svoi (Hyp., p. 16); Igorz sovokupi voja mnogy. Varjagy. i Rusz. i Poljany. i Sloveny. i KRIVICHI. i TIVERTSI. i Pechenegy naja (Hyp., p. 34 and pp. 64, 292); i ide na Oku reku. i na Volgu. i nalēze VJATICHI. i rech imz komu danz daete (Hyp., p. 53); semz zhe lētē i VJATICHI pobedi. i vřzložhi na nja danz (Hyp., p. 69); ide zaemz vsi VJATICHI i Dobrjaneskz (Hyp., p. 342); i srēte RADIMICHI. na rētse Pishchanē. pobedi Volchii Khvostz RADIMICHI. tēbz i Rusz korjatsja Radimichemz gljūshche (Hyp., p. 71); Olegz zhe po prijatli grada. izoima Rostovtsē. i BĚLOZERTSI i Suzhdal'tsē i skova (Hyp., p. 227); Mstislavz zhe pride Muromu. i stvori mirz s Muromi. poja ljudi svoja. Rostovtsē zhe i SUZHDAL'TSI. i poide /k Rja/ (Hyp., p. 230); i poslavz sobravz voē. Rostovtsē SUZHĎDAL'TSI VOLODMERTSI PEREJASLAVTSI Bēlozertse. Muromtsē (Hyp., p. 573); a Mstislavz. mouzhi svoi posla zagna POLOVTSI za Donz (Hyp., p. 303); i tou vyrja POLCVCHI mnozi (Hyp., p. 356); no ozhe na mja POLOVTSI privelz i vorogy moja Olgovichē (Hyp., p. 378 and pp. 456, 460, 505, 527, 550, 559, 668, 672, 673, 678, 678, 690, 694, 695, 746); i Rosislavz Mstislavichz. pusti emu dva sna v pomochn. Romana i Ririka. i Vnezda i Smolnjany i NOVGORCDTSI. I PLESKOVICHI i samz bjashe poshelz (Hyp., p. 496):

i povelě izoimati NOVGORODTSI. i oumetati ě ou Peresěchenъskyi pogrebъ (Hyp., p. 511).

The examples of the new acc. plu. case with ending -I of the masc. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples, as recorded in the two Chronicles, point to the possibility of confusion between the subject and object cases. Since the old. nom. and the new acc. plu. cases had the identical ending -I, the animate-inanimate category was maintained by referring to the context.

The old gen. plu. case with the ending -ь of the -jo-stems appeared in the acc. function in both Chronicles. This fact demonstrates that the substitution of the old gen. plu. for the old acc. plu. case was present in the -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples. Its purpose was to restore morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases in order to maintain the animate-inanimate opposition in the nouns whose nom. and acc. plu. cases were the same.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the gen.-acc. case-ending -ь occurred five times in these sentences:

i prishedshe stasha ou Běly Vezhě. i stojasha mšts. szhidajushcha k sobě POLOVETSъ. i ot Izjaslava pokorenъja (La., p. 321); i ousrětoshа POLOVETSъ idushcha s polonom (La., p. 360); i prislasha posly kъ knajzemъ Russkymъ. se slyshemъ. ozhe protivu namъ idete poslushavshe POLOVETSъ. a my vashei zemli ne zajakhomъ (La., p. 505); i prislasha Tatarove vtoroe posly glšnche. ashche este poslushali POLOVETSъ. a posly nashi este izbili a idete protivu namъ (*ibid.*); knjazъ zhe Vsevolodъ poslushavъ NOVGORODETSъ. vъzlozhivъ olupovaně na Bа i na stuju Btšju (La., p. 383).

Similar examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -ѣ were encountered four times in the Hypatian Chronicle:

Pobědi VJATICĚ Stōslavъ. i danъ na nihъ vъzlozhi (Hyp., p. 53); i stojasha ou Bělyvezhi mŕts sŕzhidajuče k sobě POLOVETSъ. i ot Izjaslava pokorenija (Hyp., p. 377); reka khochju k vamъ poekhati. oni zhe bojachesja POLOVETSъ. zane togdy tjazhko. bjashe Kijanomъ (Hyp., p. 476); sŕzhidajushče k sobě Rostislavichъ. zhdashetъ zh bo k sobě POLOVETSъ. na mirъ (Hyp., p. 613).

As the gen.-acc. plu. case-ending -ѣ differed morphologically from the nom. plu. case-ending -I, the animate-inanimate category was expressed through the nom. and gen.-acc. plu. cases.

In the post-prepositional function, the old acc. plu. case-ending -ѣ occurred nineteen times after various prepositions in the Laurentian Chronicle:

i posadi zhenу svoju ou Volodarja. a samъ ide V POLOVTSĚ (La., p. 270); Dŕdъ pobězhe V POLOVTSĚ (La., p. 272); ty naděeshisja bēzhati V POLOVTSĚ. a volostъ svoju pogubishi (La., p. 306 and pp. 311, 358, 358, 258); vlozhi Bъ myslъ dobru v Rusъkyē knjazi. oumyslisha derznuti NA POLOVTSĚ i poiŕi v zemlju ikhъ (La., p. 276); Idosha vesnē NA POLOVTSĚ Stōpolkъ. i Volodimerъ. i Dŕdъ (La., p. 284 and 289) Sēde Olgovichъ v Kyeve. i nacha zamyshljati NA VOLODIMERICĚ. i NA MSTISLAVICĚ. nadějasja silē svoei (La., p. 307); i Vsevolodъ poslasja PO POLOVTSĚ. i pride ikhъ .3. tysiaschъ (La., p. 296); posla knjazъ Mstislavъ bratju svoju NA KRIVICĚ. chetyrmi puti (La., p. 297); Stōslav zhe vorotisja progna nashē opjatъ. a sam bezha V VJATICĚ i vorotisja v svoja si (La., p. 314); prishedshju zhe emu V VJATICĚ. i sta ne doshedъ Kozelъska (La., p. 341); a Izjaslavъ bēzha v Gomъi. i ottolē prognasha i V VJATICĚ (La., p. 348); i ide Izjaslavъ V VJATICĚ (La., p. 350).

The same acc. plu. case-ending -Ě, after various prepositions, appeared twenty-six times in the Hypatian Chronicle, as can be seen in these sentences:

idete paky V NĚMTSĚ i sgljadaite tako zhe. i ottudu idete vĚ Grěky oni zhe pridoshā V NĚMTSĚ. i sgljadavshe. tġrkvġ i sluzhbu ikhġ (Hyp., p. 93); i pridokhomġ V NĚMTSĚ i vidikhomġ. sluzhbu tvorjashcha (Hyp., p. 94); Stġpolkġ zhe. i Volodimerġ poslasta k Olgovi. veljacha emu iti sġ soboju NA POLOVTSĚ (Hyp., p. 219); po semġ Khotjatġ prositisja ou Stġpolka i ou Volodimera NA POLOVTSĚ. i poidu rěkhġ NA POLOVTSĚ. da ljubo nalěju sobě slavu (Hyp., p. 240 and pp. 252, 258, 260, 265, 465, 629, 633, 637, 653, 674, 773); i posadi zhenu svoju ou Volodarja. a samġ ide V PCLOVTSĚ (Hyp., p. 245); v to zhe veremja. posla. Stġslavġ V POLOVTSĚ k ouemġ svoimġ (Hyp., p. 239); Dvġvichema zhe i Stġslavou Olgovichju poiti im NA VJATICĚ k Rostovou (Hyp., p. 368); i ide NA VJATICĚ (Hyp., p. 374 and 455, 459); a ouzhe estġ vshelġ V nashě VJATICĚ (Hyp., p. 374); togda zhe Stġslavġ knjazġ. ide VĚ VJATICĚ Korachevou orouděi delja svoikhġ (Hyp., p. 637); i posla Rjurikġ. PC Loukomorġskġ POLOVTSĚ. po Akousha (Hyp., p. 675); i ne pusti ego k sobě a onġ ouvoro-tjasja. ta NA RADIMICHĚ kġ Andreěvi Suzhdalju (Hyp., p. 537); Khodisha Litva vsja i Zhemotġ vsja. NA NĚMTSĚ k Rizġ (Hyp., p. 896).

The prepositions, which governed the old acc. plu case with the ending -I of the masc. -jo-stem nouns signifying various peoples, specified that the case in question was acc. This circumstance provided an adequate basis for the realization of the animate-inanimate category in this group of nouns in the two Chronicles.

In addition to the use of the old acc. plu. case after certain prepositions, the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I, which was like the nom. plu. case ending, also

appeared in both Chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle, this case occurred fifteen times:

Ide Volodimerъ NA RADIMICHI (La., p. 83); idete paki V NĚMTSI sꙗgljadait takozhe. i ottudě idete vъ Greki. oni zhe pridoshа V NĚMTSI i sꙗgljadavshe tšrkvnuju sluzhbu ikh pridoshа Tšrju gorodu (La., p. 107); nēs dobro zakonъ ikhъ i pridokhomъ V NĚMTSI (La., p. 108); poslasta kъ Olgovi. veljasta omu poiti NA POLOVTSI s soboju (La., p. 228); prished iz Rostova, paki idokh NA POLOVTSI na Curubu s Stopolkom (La., p. 250); a Vъ VJATICHI khodikhom po dvě zime (La., p. 248); posla šna svoego Glēba V POLOVTSI. a sam vorotisja opjatъ Suzhadalju (La., p. 341); i ide V POLOVTSI Volodimerъ (La., p. 353-354); poidoshа so mnozhьstvomъ polona V POLOVTSI (La., p. 363); Togo zhe lēt. poslasha Olgovichi PO POLOVTSI. i nachasha vevati po Sulě (La., p. 305); Velikiyi knjaz Jaroslavъ. posla šna svoego Andrěa. v Novъgorodъ. Velikiyi. v pomochъ Oleksandrovi. NA NĚMTSI. i pobedisha ja (La., p. 470); ide iz Novgoroda iz Velikago i s Novgorodtsi NA NĚMTSI (La., p. 486); khodi Aleksandrъ Jaroslavichъ s Novgorodtsi NA NĚMTSI (La., p. 523); Jaroslavъ. Jaroslavichъ. posla s Novъgorodtsi NA NĚMTSI (La., p. 525).

The same combination, consisting of prepositions and the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I, occurred twenty-seven times in the Hypatian Chronicle:

i poslasta kъ Dvdvi i k Olgovi glshcha. poidita NA POLOVTSI. a ljubo budemъ zhivi ljubo mrtvi (Hyp., p. 253); i tu otrjadi Izjaslavъ sna svoeg Mьstislava NA POLOVTSI s polky svoimi (Hyp., p. 459 and pp. 507, 532, 645, 645, 645, 652, 673, 673, 674, 677); Vsevolodъ zhe poslasja PO POLOVTSI (Hyp., p. 290); Izjaslavъ zhe sьvkupivsja sь brateju. svoeju ou ljuboyъ posla PO POLOVTSI (Hyp., p. 515); a nyně poslemъ IO POLOVTSI po vsja (Hyp., p. 675); i na tou nochъ Polovtsi ot nikh poidoshа V POLOVTSI (Hyp., p. 357); Polovtsi zhe bēzhashа V POLOVTSI

(Hyp., p. 440); Polovtsi zhe poidosha ot nikh tuda na Putivl' V PCLOVTSI (Hyp., p. 458 and pp. 468, 501, 517, 652, 627, 735); Vsevolodъ zhe poslasja PO POLOVTSI (Hyp., p. 290); Izjaslav zhe sьvkupivsja sь brateju. svoeju ou ljubovъ posla PO POLOVTSI, i pridosha emu Polovtsi mnozi (Hyp., p. 515); a nyně poslemъ PO POLOVTSI po vsja (Hyp., p. 675).

Although the new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stem nouns was identical with the nom. plu. case, the acc. function of the case was identified by the preposition which governed the acc. case. Therefore, the animate-inanimate category depended on the preposition, and the new acc. plu. case which it governed, in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying various peoples in both Chronicles.

From the analysis of the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases by the masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples, one can draw several conclusions regarding the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles.

First, it is evident that in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples, which appeared with no suffix in the sing. number, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y was used exclusively in both Chronicles. This meant that the substitution phenomenon was totally absent in this group of nouns. The possible reason for its absence lies in the fact that the old nom. plu. case with the ending -I had not yet been supplanted by the new

nom. plu. case-ending -Y. Numerically, the new nom. plu. case was represented five times in the Laurentian and once in the Hypatian Chronicle. This Chronicle was less susceptible to the acquisition of the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y than was the Laurentian Chronicle.

Since the old acc. plu. case appeared twenty-nine times, and the new nom. plu. case five times, in the Laurentian Chronicle, there was a possibility of misinterpreting the functions of two semantically different cases in one out of six instances. Whenever this occurred, the expression of the animate-inanimate category depended on the context. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the possibility of confusion between the new nom. plu. case and the old acc. plu. case was remote because the former case appeared only once, while the latter occurred forty-seven times.

On the basis of these considerations, one can conclude that the animate-inanimate category relied, for the most part, on the morphological distinction between the old nom. and acc. plu. cases in this group of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples, in the two Chronicles.

Second, in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples, and appearing with the suffix -IN- only in the sing. number, the acc. plu. case was represented by the old ending -Y thirty-one times, and by the ending -E four times in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ending -E could have caused syntactical ambivalence because it was

identical with the nom. plu. case of this group of nouns. In addition, the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -b appeared fourteen times in this Chronicle. When these totals of the old acc. plu. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases are compared, one can conclude that the ratio between the two cases was two to one in favour of the old acc. plu. case. If the totals of the gen.-acc. plu. case are compared with the totals of the old acc. case and its variants, then the ratio will be six to one, also in favour of the old acc. plu. cases. In other words, the old acc. plu. case was still regarded as the norm for the acc. function. Furthermore, the utilization of the acc. plu. case with the ending -E, which was similar to the nom. plu. case, could have been evoked by the appearance of the new nom. plu. case with the ending -Y, which appeared only once in the Laurentian Chronicle.

The above discussion indicates that the old acc. plu. case, along with the gen.-acc. plu. case, was still actively used in upholding the animate-inanimate category in this group of nouns in the Laurentian Chronicle.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, there were fifty-two instances of the old acc. plu. with the ending -Y, three with the ending -E, and one with the ending -OVĚ in the masc. plu. o-stem nouns denoting various peoples. The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -b appeared nine times in these nouns. Comparatively speaking, the ratio between

the old acc. plu. case and the gen.-acc. plu. case was five to one in favour of the old acc. plu. case. This ratio, if compared with the one obtained in the Laurentian Chronicle, leads one to conclude that the Hypatian Chronicle was slower than the Laurentian to adopt the gen.-acc. plu. case for the acc. function.

In view of these comments, the animate-inanimate category depended on the old acc. plu. case, and only marginally on the gen.-acc. plu. and other acc. plu. cases in the Hypatian Chronicle.

Concerning the post-prepositional use, one can state that the old acc. plu. case with <sup>the</sup> ending -Y was used exclusively in both Chronicles, except for one example in the Laurentian Chronicle, where the acc. plu. case-ending was represented by the vowel -E.

Third, in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns with the suffix -ĚN, the acc. plu. case with <sup>the</sup> ending -I, similar to the nom. plu. case, was recorded four times, and once each with the endings -E and -Ě in the Laurentian Chronicle. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same case was represented only five times by the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y. After different prepositions, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -I appeared twice in the Laurentian Chronicle. The same case was recorded three times in the Hypatian Chronicle, with the ending -Y. Since the gen.-acc. plu. case was lacking in this group of nouns, it is evident

that the animate-inanimate category depended on the different nom. and acc. plu. cases whenever they differed morphologically or it relied on the context for its expression.

Fourth, the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns with the suffix -AN- appeared eight times with the acc. plu. case-ending -Y and once with the ending -E in the Laurentian Chronicle. The Hypatian Chronicle had only five examples of the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y. In the post-prepositional use, three examples of the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y were recorded: one in the Laurentian Chronicle, and two in the Hypatian. As in the previous group of masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples, the nouns with the suffix -AN- also lacked the gen.-acc. plu. case in the acc. function. Thus, the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression either on the different nom. and acc. plu. cases or on the context.

Finally, the acc. plu. case of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns with suffix -JAN- was represented predominantly by the old acc. case with the ending -Y. It appeared twenty-four times in each Chronicle. In addition, the acc. plu. case occurred with the ending -E three times in the Laurentian and four times in the Hypatian Chronicle. The latter Chronicle also had three instances of the acc. case with the ending -Ě. The gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -ǝ was represented by a single example, which occurred in the Laurentian Chronicle. After various

prepositions, the old acc. plu. case was used exclusively in both Chronicles. The Laurentian Chronicle had four examples, while the Hypatian had eleven instances of the old acc. plu. case after prepositions. The absence of the gen.-acc. plu. case leads one to the conclusion that the animate-inanimate category expressed itself through the distinct nom. and acc. plu. cases in both Chronicles.

In view of these observations, one may conclude that in both Chronicles the substitution process was operating more extensively in the Laurentian than in the Hypatian Chronicle. Its slow progress, particularly in the Hypatian Chronicle, was due to the fact that the nom. and acc. plu. cases were represented by a variety of case-endings. Therefore, in both Chronicles, the animate-inanimate opposition relied on the distinction between the nom. and the old acc. plu. cases, on the context, and partially on the gen.-acc. plu. case, in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns referring to various peoples. Concerning the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying various peoples, the findings showed that in the Laurentian Chronicle the old acc. case with the ending -Ě appeared seventeen times, the new acc. case with the ending -I twenty-one times, and the gen.-acc. case with the ending -ъ was present five times. The numerical proportion of the old and the new acc. plu. cases indicates that the old acc. case with the ending -Ě was being usurped by the ending -I, which was similar to

that of the old nom. plu. case. The combined frequency of the old acc. plu. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases, which differed from the identical nom. plu. and the new acc. plu. cases, was in a ratio of one to one. This even ratio caused confusion between the nom. and the acc. plu. cases and was responsible for the appearance of the gen.-acc. case. Syntactical considerations, on which the animate-inanimate opposition depended for its expression, motivated and activated the substitution process in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples in the Laurentian Chronicle.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples were represented forty-five times by the old acc. case with the ending -Ě, thirty-four times by the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I, and four times by the gen.-acc. case with the ending -B. If the numerical frequency of the gen.-acc. plu. case is compared with the frequency of the new acc. plu. case, which was identical with the nom. plu. case, one will obtain a ratio of one to eight in favour of the new acc. plu. case. On the basis of this proportion, the gen.-acc. plu. case was used to eliminate the morphological similarity between the two syntactically different cases.

As in the Laurentian Chronicle so, too, in the Hypatian, the animate-inanimate category depended on the old acc. plu. and the gen. -acc. plu. cases, since these cases differed from the nom. plu. case. Furthermore, the

animate-inanimate category relied also on the new acc. plu. case, which was identical with the nom. plu. case. In the latter instance, syntactical clarity, with respect to the subject and object, and the adequate expression of the animate-inanimate category were obtained from the context.

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Ě occurred nineteen times, and the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I fifteen times in the Laurentian Chronicle. Similar case-endings of the acc. plu. case were represented twenty-six and twenty-seven times, respectively, in the Hypatian Chronicle. The prepositions, which governed the old and the new acc. plu. cases, maintained the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples in both Chronicles.

As a concluding remark pertaining to the substitution process in the masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns referring to various peoples in the two Chronicles, one can state that it affected primarily the plu. -o-stems with the suffix -IN- in the sing. number, and the plu. -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles. In other masc. plu. -o-stem nouns with suffixes -ĚN- -AN- and -JAN- the substitution phenomenon did not manifest itself. The limited number of the gen.-acc. plu. case indicates that the substitution process was in its initial stage in the group of nouns signifying various peoples. In view of this circumstance, the animate-inanimate category

relied on the distinction between the old acc. plu. and the nom. plu. cases, both of which had different case-endings; on the gen.-acc. plu case; and on the contextual arrangement of the constituent members in a given sentence.

TABLE VI

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND GEN.-ACC. PLU. CASES IN THE MASC. PLU. -O- and -JO-STEM NOUNS DENOTING VARIOUS PEOPLES IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

TYPE OF PLU. NOUNS	C A S E	ENDING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
-o-stem (with no suffix)	a. Old Acc	-Y(-I)	29	47
	b. New Nom=Old Acc	-Y	5	1
-o-stem (with -IN- suf. in sing.)	a. Old Acc	-Y(-I)	31	52
	b. New Nom=Old Acc	-Y	1	0
	c. Acc=Old Nom	-E	4	3
	d. Acc=Old Nom	-OVĚ	0	1
	e. Acc=Old Gen	-Ѣ	14	9
	f. Prep Old Acc	-Y	47	60
	g. Prep Old Nom=Acc	-E	1	0

TABLE VI (continued)

TYPE OF PLU. NOUNS	C A S E	ENDING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
-o-stem (with -ĚN- suffix)	a. Acc=Old Nom(-o-)	-I	4	0
	b. Acc=Old Nom	-E	1	0
	c. Acc=Old Acc (-jo-)	-Ě	1	0
	d. Old Acc	-Y	0	5
	a. Prep + Old Nom=Acc	-I	2	0
	b. Prep + Old Acc=Acc	Y	0	3
	-o-stem (with -AN- suffix)	a. Old Acc	-Y	8
b. Acc=Old Nom		-E	1	0
a. Prep + Old Acc		-Y	1	2
-o-stem (with -JAN- suffix)	a. Old Acc	-Y	24	24
	b. Acc=Old Nom	-E	3	4
	c. Acc=Old Acc (-jo-)	-Ě	0	3
	d. Acc=Old Gen	-b	1	0
	a. Prep + Old Acc	-Y	4	11

TABLE VI (continued)

TYPE OF PLU. NOUNS	C A S E	ENDING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
-jo-stem	a. Old Acc	-Ě	17	45
	b. New Acc=Old Nom	-I	21	34
	c. Acc=Old Gen	-b	5	4
	a. Prep + Old Acc	-Ě	19	26
	b. Prep + New Acc	-I	15	27

## CHAPTER IX

### ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE FEM. PLU. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING PERSONS

#### Introduction

Although the phonetic changes in the late Common Slavic period brought about the identity of the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings in the fem. plu. nouns of various stems, they were not affected by the substitution process during the OCS and early East Slavic periods.

In the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, there were sporadic examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case, along with the old acc. plu. case in these nouns. Hence, the purpose of this chapter is examine the substitution process in the fem. plu. nouns of various stems referring to persons. An assessment of the status of the animate-inanimate category will be made on the basis of this examination in the two Chronicles.

1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the  
Fem. Plu. Nouns of Various Stems  
Denoting Persons in the OCS, Early,  
and Middle East Slavic Texts

As a result of the phonetic changes which took place during the late Common Slavic period, the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. -a-, -ja-, -i-, -yn'i, -ii-, -er-, and -ū-stem nouns were morphologically similar. The nom. plu. case of the -a- and -ja-stems came from the acc. plu. of the same stems, and was represented by the vocalic endings -Y and -Ě (-JE after jot) respectively.<sup>1</sup> These endings originated from the thematic vowels -a-, -ja-, and the acc. plu. case-ending -NS through the following stages of development:

\*dēvās > \*dēvāns >, \*dēvans > \*dēvons > \*dēvuns > \*dēvūs >  
\*dēvū > OCS dēvy, and; \*zemjās > \*zemjāns > \*zemjans >  
\*zemjens > \*zemjēn > \*zeml'ĕ > OCS zemljě.

The common nom. and acc. plu. case-ending -I of the fem. plu. -i-stem nouns came from the thematic vowel -i- and the acc. plu. ending -NS. After the loss of the final consonant -S, the -IN nasalized into -Ī, which, after denasalization, became -I.<sup>2</sup> This process is illustrated by the following word: "gost-i-NS > \*gost-i-N > \*gost-Ī > \*gost-I. The fem. plu. nouns of the -yni- and -ii-stems both had

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<sup>1</sup>M. F. Stanivskyj, Staroslav'jans'ka mova (Kharkov: Vydavnytstvo L'vivs'koho Univesytetu, 1964, pp. 221-223.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 223.

the endings -E and -JE̋ for the nom. and acc. plu. cases, respectively. These nouns were declined like the regular -ja-stem nouns. The fem. plu. nouns of the -er- and -ū-stems had the common vocalic case-ending -I in their nom. and acc. plu. cases. This ending was transferred from the fem. plu. -i-stem nouns, which also had identical nom. and acc. plu. cases.<sup>3</sup>

From the analysis of the nom. and acc. plu. cases of fem. plu. nouns of various stems, one can conclude that the two functionally different cases were similar in the late Common Slavic period. The identification of the two cases could have obscured the syntactical clarity of the subject and object relationship and undermined the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons. Since there are no written records from the late Common Slavic period, it is impossible to know whether the substitution phenomenon was present in the fem. plu. nouns prior to the appearance of the OCS texts.

In the OCS texts, the situation was similar. There was no substitution process upholding the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons. Gorshkov emphasizes this point in the following words:

Rasprostraneni kategorii odushevlennosti  
na sushchestvitelnye zhenskogo roda vo

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<sup>3</sup> Buslaev, op. cit., p. 212, Remark No. 2.

mnozhestvennom chisle staroslavjanskimi pamjatnikami ne zasvidetel'stvovano. <sup>4</sup>

However, it should be noted that the fem. sing. nouns 'mati', 'dšshti' and 'svekry' of the -er- and -ū-stems, respectively, reflect occasional usage of the gen. sing. cases in the acc. function as a grammatical expression of the animate-inanimate opposition. The gen.-acc. sing. forms 'materere', 'dšshtere' and 'svekrŕve', especially the first two, appeared as a result of the model provided by the masc. sing. gen.-acc. case-forms 'otŕtsa' and 'syna', according to Vaillant. <sup>5</sup> This use is illustrated by the following example:

Reche ḡb̄. ljubei ota li MŕRE pache  
mene. nŕstŕ mi na podobŕ. i ljubei  
sŕna li DŠSHTERE pache mene nestŕ  
mene dostoinŕ. <sup>6</sup>

The East Slavic texts of the XII-XIV centuries show that the substitution process was unknown in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons. For this reason, Borkovskij and Kuznetsov asserted that:

formy rod.-vin. p. mn. p. nachinajut upotre-  
bljat'sja i dlja nazvanij lits ženskogo pola,

<sup>4</sup>A. I. Gorshkov, Staroslavjanskij jazyk (Moscow: Vŕsshaja Shkola, 1963), p. 200.

<sup>5</sup>André Vaillant, Manuel du vieux slave (Paris: Institut d'études Slaves, 1948), Grammaire, Vol. I, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup>Šcepkin, op. cit., p. 18.

no ne ranee XVI v., mozhet byt', samogo kontsa  
XV v. 7

The authors substantiate this statement with the following example: "daju s/y/nu svoemu Mikhailu svoikh ljudei kholopov i ROB", from the "Spiritual Testament" of V. B. Tuchkova-Morozova, before 1497, which appeared in a copy at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

2. Animate-Inanimate Category in the  
Fem. Plu. Nouns of Various Stems  
Denoting Persons in the Laurentian  
and Hypatian Chronicles

The examination of the fem. plu. nouns of various stems denoting persons indicates that the substitution process was a rare phenomenon in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, which were compiled at the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, respectively.

In the Laurentian Chronicle,<sup>9</sup> fem. plu. -a-stem nouns were represented by the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y (-I). This acc. plu. case with the ending -Y occurred twenty-two times in the Laurentian Chronicle in the

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<sup>7</sup>V. I. Borkovskij and P. S. Kuznetsov, Istoricheskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963), p. 210,

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>A detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the various fem. plu. nouns in the two Chronicles can be examined in Table VII at the end of the chapter.

following sentences:

i tu oumykakhu ZHENY sobě (La., p. 14);  
 i bě nesyť bluda privodja k  
 sobě mužhski ZHENY. i dvtsě rastlja ja  
 (La., p. 80); bě bo samъ ljubja ZHENY.  
 i bluzhenbe mnogoe (La., p. 85); si zhe  
 bratja vzjasha Měneskъ i isėkosha mužhě.  
 a ZHENY i děti vdasha na shchity (La.,  
 p. 166); i privozhakhu k nima SĚSTRY svoja.  
 mtre i ZHENY svoja...i oubivasheta mnogy  
 ZHENY (La., p. 175); povėdasha emu Bėlo-  
 zertsy jako dva kudešnika, izbila ouzhe  
 mnogy ZHENY po Volzě (ibid.); poja  
 zhe paky iny ZHENY mnogy (La., p. 300);  
 a onamo ZHENY nashě vřzmutъ (La., p. 312);  
 a ZHENY i děti. iměňja. i skotъ. poimasha  
 (La., p. 361); mužhi isėkosha. a ZHENY i  
 děti poima (La., p. 364): ZHENY i děti i  
 tovarъ da poganym na shchitъ (La., p. 383);  
 mužhi povjazasha. a ZHENY i děti na shchitъ.  
 i tovarъ vzjasha (La., p. 386); mnozhestvo  
 polona vzjasha ZHENY i děti (La., p. 397);  
 i dьjakony. i ZHENY ikhъ. i dcheri. i śny  
 ikhъ. to vse vedosha v stany svoě (La., p. 462);  
 i grad ikh zazhze a ZHENY ikh i děti poima  
 (La., p. 491); i issėkosha vsja i ZHENY i  
 děti (La., p. 513); a inykh zhe emshe muzhei.  
 i ZHENY i děti. i chernьtsa i chernitsъ i  
 erěja (La., p. 515); to vse issėkosha. a  
 prochie ljudi i ZHENY. i děti bosy i beskrovny  
 (La., p. 517); i poimajutъ MACHEKHI svoja. i  
 jatrovi i iny obyčaja otetsъ svoikhъ (La.,  
 p. 16); i dari prinese mnogy, koni velьbudy  
 i bulovy i DĚVKY. i odari kňzei Rusьkykh  
 (La., p. 505).

Since the acc. and the nom. plu. case-endings of the fem. -a-stem nouns were represented by the vowel -Y, the syntactical relationship was determined largely from the context. It was also possible to recognize the objective function of the cases of these nouns from the fact that they formed an objective unit with other nouns which appeared in the acc. case.

In addition to the acc. plu. case with the ending -Y, the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns also appeared with the acc. plu. case-ending -Ě, of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns. With this ending, the acc. plu. case appeared once in the Laurentian Chronicle:

Boleslavъ zhe pobězhe is Kyeva. vъzma  
imenъe. i bojary Jaroslavle. i SESTRĚ  
ego (La., p. 144).

Although the acc. plu. case-ending -Ě belonged to the plu. -ja-stem nouns, its use provided a distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns. The utilization of the acc. plu. case-ending -Ě was prompted by the syntax and the animate-inanimate category to eliminate morphological identity of the nom. and acc. plu. cases prior to the introduction of the substitution process. Such a substitution of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -Ъ for the old acc. plu. case was attested once only in the Laurentian Chronicle:

stanemъ krěpko. ne oziraimsja nazad.  
poběgshe ne oubiti. a zabudemъ brate  
domovъ ZHENъ i děti (La., p. 497).

This single instance of the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case of the fem. -a-stem nouns denoting persons leads one to the conclusion that the substitution process was present in these nouns. The animate-inanimate category was beginning to be expressed through the nom. and gen.-acc. medium in the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the acc. plu. case with the ending -Y of the fem. -a-stems was recorded twelve times in these sentences:

i tu oumykakhu ZHENY sobě (Hyp., p. 10);  
 i jadushche mrtvechinu. i vsju nechstotu.  
 khomjaky i sosuly. i poimajutъ MACHEKHY  
 svoja. i jatrovi. i iny obychaja otsъ  
 svoikhъ (Hyp., pp. 11-12); i privodja k  
 sebě muzhъskyja ZHENY. i dvtsi rastljaja.  
 be bo zhenoljubetsъ jako Solomonъ (Hyp.,  
 p. 67); Volodimirъ zhe slushe ikhъ. be  
 bo samъ ljubjashe ZHENY i bluzhenie mno-  
 goe (Hyp., p. 72); isъsēkosha muzhi a  
 ZHENY i dēti vzjasha na shchity i poi-  
 dosha kъ Nemizē (Hyp., p. 156); i povē-  
 dasha emu Bēloozertsī. jako dva kudesnika  
 izbila mnogy ZHENY. po Volъzē i po Shъksnē  
 (Hyp., p. 165); zaimouche zhe khochemъ vezhē  
 svoē. i ZHENY svoē. i dēti svoē. i stada  
 svoja (Hyp., p. 427); i ljudi isēkosha. a  
 ZHENY i dēti imenija vzjasha (Hyp., p. 560);  
 muzhē isъsēkosha. a ZHENY i dēti poimasha  
 (Hyp., p. 565); i potomъ posla Stōslavъ.  
 ZHENY ikhъ (Hyp. p. 602); pochasha otimati  
 ZHENY i dshcheri na postelē k sobě (Hyp.  
 p. 665); i oskvernjakhou ZHENY zhe i  
 chernitsi i popadbi (Hyp., p. 722)

The acc. plu. function of these case was determined, as in the Laurentian Chronicle, both by the context and by their combination with other nouns in the objective role. These two factors also supported the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns denoting persons in the Hypatian Chronicle.

Along with the acc. plu. case-ending -Y in the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns, there was one example of the acc. plu. case-ending -Ě. This appeared in the Hypatian Chronicle: "i nasilъstvujushche SIROTĚ. i vdovitsi"

(Hyp., p. 158). Although the instances of the acc. plu. case-ending  $-\check{E}$  of the fem. plu.  $-ja$ -stem nouns were limited, the presence of this ending differentiated the nom. and the acc. plu. cases of the  $-a$ -stem nouns. Its appearance, in all probability, was motivated by syntactical considerations and by the need to have different subject and object cases in the animate nouns.

On the basis of the above observations, one can conclude that the status of the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu.  $-a$ -stem nouns in the two Chronicles relied primarily on the distinction between the old acc. and the nom. plu. cases, whose specific functions were determined from the context. Furthermore, the animate-inanimate opposition depended on the acc. plu. case-ending  $-\check{E}$  of the  $-ja$ -stems nouns, which was used by the acc. plu. case of the  $-a$ -stems. Finally, the animate-inanimate category was supported by the gen.-acc. plu. case, but only in the Laurentian Chronicle. The Hypatian Chronicle failed to exhibit any examples of the gen. plu. case of the  $-a$ -stems in the acc. function. This means that the substitution process was absent in the fem. plu.  $-a$ -stem nouns in this Chronicle.

The acc. plu. case of the fem. plu.  $-ja$ -stem nouns denoting persons was represented by the old acc. plu. case with the ending  $-\check{E}$ , the endings  $-JA$  and  $-A$  (as reflexes of the OCS acc. plu. case-ending  $-\check{E}_1$ ), and by the new acc.

plu. case-ending -I.

The acc. plu. case-ending -Ě appeared once in each Chronicle in the following nouns:

i bě nesytъ bluda privodja k sobě mužhъski zheny. i DVTSE rastъlja (La., p. 80); and, i poproda vsъ Kyevъ. igumeny i popy i CHER-NITSE. Latinu i gostě i zatvorí vse Kyjany (Hyp., p. 579).

The retention of the acc. plu. case with the ending -Ě, which was identical with the nom. plu. case-ending, prevented the animate-inanimate opposition from attaining adequate expression in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns. In the above examples, however, syntactical clarity and the animate-inanimate category were maintained because the nouns in question appeared as a member of the compound objective unit.

The acc. plu. case with the endings -JA and -A of the fem. plu. nouns were respectively recorded in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles:

oubivakhu drugъ druga. jadjakhu vsja nechisto. i braka ou nikhъ ne byvashe. no oumykivakhu ou vody DVTJA (La., p. 13); i oubivakhu drugъ druga. jadushche vse nechisto. i brachenъja v nikhъ ne bysha. no oumykakhu ou vody DVTSA (Hyp., p. 10).

These acc. plu. cases provided the necessary distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. -ja-stems. Therefore, manifestation of the animate-inanimate category was not hindered.

The new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -ja-stem

nouns, which was replacing the old acc. plu. case-ending -Ě as a result of the analogy from the nom. plu. case of the -a-stem nouns, appeared four times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

pache zhe i chernechъskyi chinъ ljubja. i CHERNITSI ljubja. prikhodjashchaja k nemu (La., p. 264); poproda vesъ Kyevъ. igumeny. i popy. chernъtsi. i CHERNITSI (La., p. 367); to vse stasja nad Kievom. za grĕkhi nasha. chernъtsi. i CHERNITSI staryja issĕkosha (La., p. 418); a chernъtsi. i CHERNITSI. staryja. i popy. i slĕpyja. i khromyja. i ťlukyja. i trudovatyja. i ljudi vse issĕkosha (La., p. 462).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the new acc. plu. case of the -ja-stem nouns occurred three times in the following sentences:

i privodja k sobĕ mužhъskyja zheny. i DVITSI rastljaja. bĕ bo zhenoljubetsъ jako Solomonъ (Hyp., p. 67); i nasilъstvujushche sirotĕ. i VDOVITSI (Hyp., p. 158); i oskvernjakhou zheny i CHERNITSI i popadbi (Hyp., p. 722).

Since the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I differed morphologically from the nom. plu. case-ending -Ě, the animate-inanimate opposition utilized this distinction for its expression in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns in both Chronicles.

The fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns exhibited two examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the endings -ъ and -ъI. The former acc. plu. ending appeared in the Laurentian Chronicle, the latter in the Hypatian:

a inykh zhe emshe muzhei. i zheny i dēti.  
i chernŭtsa i CHERNITSŭ. i erēja (La., p.  
515), and, bēgashe bo Timofei ot litsa  
ego bē bo tomitelŭ bojaromŭ i grazhdanomŭ  
i bloudŭ tvorja i oskvernjakhou zheny zhe  
i chernitsi i POPADŭI (Hyp., p. 722).

These two instances of the gen.-acc. plu. cases demonstrate the initial stage of the substitution process in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns.

From the examples of the acc. plu. case of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns, it is evident that in both Chronicles the animate-inanimate category depended contextually on the old acc. plu. case, which was similar to the old nom. plu. case; on the variants of the old acc. plu. case; and on the new acc. plu. case. It should also be pointed out that the same category was supported by the gen.-acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. The ratio between the gen.-acc. plu. case and the other acc. plu. cases was one to seven in the Laurentian Chronicle and one to six in the Hypatian Chronicle.

The nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. -er-stem nouns were morphologically identical, with the ending -I. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were five examples of this case in the following sentences:

eterŭ zhe zakonŭ Khaldēemŭ i Vavilonjamŭ.  
MŤRI poimati. sŭ bratnimi chady bludŭ  
dējati i oubivati (La., p. 15);  
i privozhakhū sny svoja i DŭSHCHERI. i  
zhrjakhū bēsomŭ (La., p. 79); i pri-  
vozhakhū snŭ svoja i DŭSHCHERI. i zaka-  
lakhū prid nimi (La., p. 91); a chto  
chernŭtsov inēkh i chernits. inēkh. i

popovъ i popadei. i Kyjany. i DĚSHCHERI  
ikh i sny ikh. to vse vedosha inoplemenitsi  
v vezhi k sobě (La., p. 419); i dĚjakony.  
i zheny ikhъ. i DCHERI. i sny ikhъ. to  
vse vedosha v stany svoě (La., p. 462).

The same acc. plu. case-ending -I was represented twice  
in the Hypatian Chronicle:

i privozhakhu sny svoja. i DĚSHCHERI svoja.  
i zakalakhu prědъ nimi (Hyp., p. 78);  
pochasha otimati zheny i DSHCHERI na postelě  
k sobě (Hyp., p. 665).

The lack of morphological distinction between the nom. and  
acc. plu. cases of the -er-stem nouns could have created  
syntactical ambiguity and undermined the animate-inanimate  
category in these nouns. However, it was possible to  
determine their acc. role contextually in both Chronicles,  
since these nouns appeared with other nouns in the acc.  
function.

In addition to the regular acc. plu. case-ending  
-I in the -er-stem nouns, there was one example of the  
acc. plu. case with the ending -E in the Laurentian  
Chronicle: "i privozhakhu k nima sestry svoja. MĚTRE i  
zheny sovoja." (La., p. 175). The case-ending -E, used  
in the acc. plu. function by the fem. plu. -er-stem noun,  
came from the masc. plu. nom. case of the consonantal  
stems.

Finally, the acc. plu. case of the fem. plu.  
-er-stem nouns also appeared in the gen.-acc. plu. case  
with the ending -II. It occurred only once in the

Hypatian Chronicle: "mladentsi rydakhu zrjashche MTRII svoikhъ" (Hyp., p. 545). This single example of the gen.-acc. indicates that the substitution was present in the fem. plu. -er-stem nouns.

The fem. plu. -ū-stem nouns, whose nom. and acc. plu. cases were identical, appeared once in each Chronicle, in the old acc. plu. case with ending -I:

i jadushche merbtvechinu. i vsju nechistotu. khoměki i susoly. i poimajutъ machekhi svoja. i JATROVI i iny obychaja otetsъ svoikhъ tvorjatъ (La., p. 15);  
and, i jadushche mrtvechinu. i vsju nechistotu. khomjaky i sosoly. i poimajubъ machekhy svoja. i JATROVI. i iny obychaja oťsъ svoikhъ (Hyp., pp. 11-12).

In these examples, it was possible to determine the acc. plu. function of the fem. plu. -ū-stem nouns because they formed an objective unit with other nouns, which were in the acc. case. In these instances, the animate-inanimate category relied on the context for its adequate expression.

In the post-prepositional use, only the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y of the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns was found in the Hypatian Chronicle: "ne věste li jako na mouzhi na ratnyě nashli este a ne NA ZHENY" (Hyp., p. 822). This example shows that the preposition 'NA' governed the acc. plu. case.

The examination of the fem. plu. nouns of various stems, respecting the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases in the two Chronicles, makes it evident that

the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression on the old acc. plu. case and its variants. Although the variant acc. plu. cases differed morphologically from the nom. plu. cases, the old acc. plu. cases were identical with the nom. plu. cases. In such instances, the respective functions of the cases with identical endings were determined from the context, and the fact that some of these nouns formed a compound objective unit with other nouns in the acc. case.

It is apparent that in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns, the animate-inanimate category relied on the new acc. plu. case, which was morphologically different from the nom. plu. case. Finally, one must conclude that, as a result of the substitution process in the fem. plu. -a-, -ja-, and -er-stem nouns, the gen.-acc. plu. case was utilized by the animate-inanimate category for its expression. The gen.-acc. plu. case appeared a total of three times in the Laurentian Chronicle and twice in the Hypatian. This indicates that that the Hypatian Chronicle remained more conservative in adapting itself to the substitution process. In spite of the limited number of examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the fem. plu. nouns, it is apparent that the substitution process was beginning to operate in the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons in both Chronicles.

Although the fem. plu. nouns of various stems denoting persons obtained identical nom. and acc. cases in the late Common Slavic period, the substitution process did not begin to appear in appreciable quantities until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Kuznetsov suggested that the reason for the late emergence of the substitution process in the fem. plu. nouns was due to the fact that it was not supported by the fem. sing. nouns. Since the fem. sing. nouns differentiated their nom. and acc. cases, the fem. plu. nouns lacked the gen.-acc. model. Such a model was used in the masc. sing. animate nouns and was adopted by the masc. plu. animate nouns, but the fem. plu. nouns were deprived of the gen.-acc. pattern in the fem. sing. nouns.

Bezpal'ko stated that the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case by the fem. plu. nouns appeared as a result of analogy, based on the utilization of the gen.-acc. plu. case by the masc. plu. animate nouns. Both masc. and fem. plu. nouns had identical nom. and acc. plu. cases, but the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case occurred in the fem. plu. nouns after it was established in the masc. plu. animate nouns.

<sup>10</sup> Kuznetsov, Ocherki istoricheskoi morfologii..., p. 104.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Bezpal'ko, Narysy z istorychnoho syntaksysu ukrains'koi movy, p. 84.

In the opinion of this researcher, the belated adoption of the gen.-acc. case by the fem. plu. nouns can be ascribed to the fact that the fem. plu. nouns were seldom used in the subject and object function in the same sentence. Therefore, there was no urgency on the part of the fem. plu. nouns to replace the old acc. plu. by the gen. plu. case. The eventual adoption of the gen.-acc. plu. case by the fem. plu. animate nouns can be considered as a part of the general aim of the animate-inanimate category to include all animate nouns within its framework.

TABLE VII

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE FEM. PLU. NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

TYPE OF PLU. NOUN	C A S E	ENDINGS	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
-a-stem	a. Old Acc	-Y (-I)	22	12
	b. Acc=Gen	-b	1	0
-ja-stem	a. Old Acc	-Ě	2	2
	b. Old Acc	-JA, -A	1	1
	c. New Acc	-I	4	3
	d. Acc=Gen	-b	1	0
	e. Acc=Old Gen	-bI	0	1
-er-stem	a. Old Acc	-I	5	2
	b. Acc=Old Nom	-E	1	0
	c. Acc=Old Gen	-II	0	1
-ū-stem	a. Old Acc	-I	1	1
-a-stem	a. Prep + Old Acc	-Y	0	1

## CHAPTER X

### ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE SING. AND PLU. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING CHILDREN

#### Introduction

The nouns which denoted children belonged to the masc. sing. -o- and -jo-stems, fem. plu. -i-stems, and the neut. -o- and -ę-stem nouns. There were only a few of these nouns. Since they signified young human beings who seldom appeared as active agents, they were used primarily in the direct object function. Therefore, the substitution process in these nouns was not as urgent and did not reach the same proportions as in the proper or common nouns. In spite of this qualification, the nouns referring to children did appear in the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the substitution process in these nouns in order to assess its effect on the animate-inanimate category in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the  
Sing. and Plu. Nouns Denoting Chil-  
dren in the OCS, Early, and Middle  
East Slavic Texts

In spite of the fact that nouns denoting children were rarely used as subject and object in the same sentence, a cursory examination of the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic monuments revealed that these nouns were affected by the substitution process.

The masc. sing. nouns referring to children appeared in the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the OCS texts, for example:

obreshtete MLADŮTSŮ povitŮ lezhŮshtŮ  
vŮ jaslekhŮ ;<sup>1</sup> and, ostavivŮ tu  
OTROKA .<sup>2</sup>

In the plu. number, the old acc. case was a frequent phenomenon:

togda irodŮ vidŮvŮ jako porŮganŮ estŮ  
otŮ vŮlkhvŮ. razgnŮvavŮ sŮ zŮlo. i posŮ-  
lavŮ izbi vsŮ OTROKY sŮshchŮ vŮ vifŮle-  
omŮ<sup>3</sup>

These examples of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases of the sing. number and the old acc. case of the plu. number lead one to state that the substitution process was present

<sup>1</sup>"Codex Zographensis" L., II, 12, as cited in Meillet Recherches..., p. 62.

<sup>2</sup>"Codex Suprasliensis" 130, 13, ibid.

<sup>3</sup>✓✓ SŮepkin, op. cit., p. 139.

in this group of nouns, especially in the sing. number. According to Meillet, the retention of the old acc. case by the nouns denoting children lies in the fact that "l'enfant ne passe pas toujours a proprement parler pour une personne".<sup>4</sup> Additional reason for the lack of the gen.-acc. case can be deduced from the fact that certain nouns like 'dęte', 'otročę' and 'chędo' belonged to the neuter gender, whose nom. and acc. cases were identical.<sup>5</sup>

In the early and middle East Slavic texts, the masc. sing. nouns denoting children also appear in the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases. The use of the old acc. sing. case is illustrated by the following examples:

oumoritъ souchcii vъ chrevě MLADENETSъ;<sup>6</sup>  
 no ne vъzri na mja gšne aki vólkъ na jăgnja,  
 no zri ná mja aki mti NA MLDNTSъ.<sup>7</sup>

The utilization of the gen.-acc. case is exemplified in these sentences:

<sup>4</sup>Meillet, Recherches..., p. 63.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>"Rjazanskaja Kormchaja 1284 g." as cited in Kuznetsov, Očerki istoričeskoj morfologii..., p. 101.

<sup>7</sup>"Slovo Daniila Zatochnika , in Obnorskij and Barkhudarov, op. cit., p. 276.

Rodista zhe blazhenago DĚTISHCHA sego, tache  
vъ osmyi denъ prinesosta i kъ svjatitelju  
Bozhijul.... Prozvuterъ zhe, viděvъ DETISHCHA,  
i serbdьchъnъma ochima prozъrja.<sup>8</sup>

From the examples of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. sing. cases, it is evident that both forms of the acc. case prevailed in the nouns signifying children in the early and middle East Slavic texts.

In the plu. number, the old acc. case predominated in the nouns denoting children as shown in the following random examples:

postavi imъ trjapezou vъ chinъ manastyrъskyi.  
zhenou zhe svoju i DĚTI. i otroky naouchi,<sup>9</sup>

Ache zhe i otchimъ priimetъ DĚTI sъ zadnitseju,  
to tako zhe estъ rjadъ,<sup>10</sup>

O gorě tъgda bratъje bjashe. DĚTI svoje daja-  
khoutъ odbrenъ,<sup>11</sup>

nъ oubъenyja Prъsy povelě pogrěbati mtrъ zhe  
darъevou i zhenou i DĚTI sъ soboju privede sъ  
chstъju,<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>"Izъ zhitija sv. Feodosija Pecherskago", in Sipovskij, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>9</sup>Kotkov, op. cit., p. 193.

<sup>10</sup>"Kratkaja russkaja pravda", in M. N. Tikhomirov, Posobie dlja izuchenija russkoj pravdy (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1953, p. 107.

<sup>11</sup>"Novgorodskaja letopisъ po Sinodalъnomu spisku XIII-XIV vv." in Obnorskiy and Barkhudarov, op. cit., p. 70

<sup>12</sup>"Aleksandrija", ibid., p. 177.

On the basis of the cited examples, and according to Borkovskij and Kuznetsov, the monuments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' reflect a degree of vacillation between the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the nouns denoting children.<sup>13</sup>

2. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Sing. and Plu. Nouns of Various Stems Denoting Children in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

As in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic texts so, too, in the the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, the nouns denoting children occurred in the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases. In the sing. number, these nouns were represented by the -o- and -jo-stem nouns.

The Laurentian Chronicle<sup>14</sup> contained the following three instances of the old acc. case of the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns referring to children:

mti zhe Moisěeva oubojavshis sego. gublensja  
vzemshi MLADENETSЬ. vložhi i v karabbitsju.  
i nesъshi postavi v luzě (La., p. 94);  
paky zhe pri Mavrikiĭ tšsri bys sitse. zhenā  
DĚTISHCHЬ rodi bezъ ochъju. i bez ruku  
(La., p. 165); ashche kto koli prinesjashe  
DĚTISHCHЬ bolenzь. katsěmbъ ljubo nedugom  
oderzhim. prinesjakhu v manastyrbъ (La.,  
p. 189).

<sup>13</sup>Borkovskij and Kuznetsov, op. cit., p. 209.

<sup>14</sup>For a detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old and the gen.-acc. cases in the sing. and plu. masc. nouns denoting children in both Chronicles see Table VIII at the end of the chapter.

The Hypatian Chronicle also had three examples of the old acc. sing. case of the masc. -jo-stem nouns denoting children. The sentences containing the nouns in the old acc. case in the Hypatian Chronicle resemble those in the Laurentian Chronicle as demonstrated by the following sentences:

mati zhe Moiseova oubojavshisja sego pogublenija. vze<sup>o</sup>m<sup>o</sup>shi MLADENĚTS<sup>o</sup>ь. vlozhi v<sup>o</sup> krab<sup>o</sup>itsju. i nes<sup>o</sup>shi postavi v luz<sup>o</sup>ě (Hyp., p. 81); ashche bo koli kto pri-nesjashe DĚTISHCH<sup>o</sup>ь bolez<sup>o</sup>ь. katsim<sup>o</sup>ь ljubo nedugom<sup>o</sup>ь. oder<sup>o</sup>zhim<sup>o</sup>ь (Hyp., p. 180); prezhe bo sego zheny bloudjakhu. k nemuzhe khotjashe i bjakhou. aky skot<sup>o</sup>ь bludjashche ashche rodjashet<sup>o</sup>ь DĚTISHCH<sup>o</sup>ь. kotoryi. ěi ljub<sup>o</sup>ь byvashe (Hyp., p. 278).

Since the acc. and the nom. sing. case-endings were identical in these nouns, the animate-inanimate category relied on the context for its expression in both Chronicles.

Nouns denoting children appeared also in the appositive function as well as in the function of a direct object. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there was one example in which the masc. sing. -jo-stem noun occurred in apposition with the third person sing. pronoun. All were in the gen.-acc. case, as illustrated by the following phrase; "JEGO zhe DĚTISHCHA<sup>v</sup> vyvolokosha rybolove v<sup>o</sup> ne-vode. jegozhe pozorovakhom<sup>o</sup>ь do vechera"(La., p. 164).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the gen.-acc. case of the -jo-stem nouns signifying children was recorded once in apposition with the third person sing. pronoun. Both also appeared in the gen.-acc. case. This sentence read:

v ta zhe vremena bys. dětishche v̄verzheno.  
 v̄ Sětomle. SEGO zhe DĚTISHCHA. vyvolokosha  
 rybolově v nevodě. ego zhe pozorovakhom̄ i  
 do vechera (Hyp., p. 153).

By appearing in the gen.-acc. sing. case as appositives with the proper noun and third person sing. pronoun, which were also in the gen.-acc. sing. case, the nouns denoting children supported the animate-inanimate category by morphological distinction in their nom. and gen.-acc. sing. cases.

In characterizing the substitution process in the masc. sing. -o- and -jo-stem nouns denoting children in the two Chronicles, it should be stated that the substitution affected only the appositive nouns, which stood after the gen.-acc. case. The nouns used in the direct object function retained the old acc. sing. case in both Chronicles. Hence, the animate-inanimate category relied for its expression on the context and the fact that nouns signifying children seldom functioned in the role of subject and object in the same sentence.

In the masc. plu. -jo-stems, the old acc. plu. with the ending -A appeared twice in the Laurentian Chronicle

Irod̄ zhe slyshav̄. posla rek̄,  
 izbiite MLADENTSA sushchaja .V. lět.

Oni zhe shedshe izbisha MLADENTSA.  
 Mr̄bja zhe oubojavshisja s̄kry otrocha  
 (La., p. 102).

As the nom. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stem nouns was different from the acc. plu. case-ending -A, there was no confusion with respect to the subject and object relationship.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the noun 'mladъnъnъtsъ' was represented once by the old acc. plu. case-ending -A, and once by the gen. plu. case with the ending -ъ. The following sentences exemplify this use:

posla rekъ izbēite MLADENTSA sushchaja do  
 dyu lētu. oni zhe shekshe izbisha mladenitsъ.  
 /di. (Hyp., 89); onikhъ plēnisha. a inyi  
 izbisha. mnozhaishija zhe izbisha MLADENĚTSъ  
 (Hyp., p. 613).

In both examples, the acc. plu. case with the ending -A and the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -ъ differed from the nom. plu. case, which ended in the vowel -I. The second example, however, exemplifying the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case, indicated the presence of the substitution process in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting children.

In the plu. number, the noun 'dēti', which followed the fem. plu. -i-stem declension, appeared overwhelmingly in the old acc. plu. case. This case was the same as the nom. plu. case, whose ending was -I. The Laurentian Chronicle revealed eighteen examples of the old acc. plu. case in these sentences:

maly bo nasъ ve vzjasha Pechenězi. i m̄trъ tvoju i DĚTI tvoi (La., p. 67); tu abbe povelě tsrъ razhajushchajasja DĚTI Zhidovъskija v̄metati v rěku (La., p. 94); Topisha DĚTI Zhidovъski. egda zhe bys morъ vъ Ejuptě, (La., p. 95); poslavъ nacha poimati ou narochitoe chadi. DĚTI i dajati nacha na oucheněe knizhnoe (La., p. 118-119); da ashche odolěeshi ty to vozmeshi iměne moe i zhenу moju. i DĚTI moě. i zemlju moju, (La., p. 147); vzja vse ime- nē ego. i zhenу jeho i DĚTI jeho, (Ibid.,); si zhe bratja vzjasha Měneskъ i isěkosha muzhě. a zheny i DĚTI vdasha na shchity, (La., p. 166); a ko Vsevolodu pustisha DĚTI svoě v tali (La., p. 308); i ljudi po selomъ isěkosha. a zheny i DĚTI. imē- nъja. i škotъ. poimasha (La., p. 361); muzhi isěkosha. a zheny i DĚTI poima, (La., p. 364); muzhi povjazasha. a zheny i DĚTI na shchitъ (La., p. 386); i po- bēzheni byvshe Polovtsi. i bisha i do vezhъ. mnozhestvo polona vzjasha zheny i DĚTI (La., p. 397); Tatarove zhe rossunushasja po zemli. i knjagynju Jaroslavlju jasha i DĚTI izъimasha (La., p. 473); i posla kъ gradu polky. i grad ikhъ zazhzhe a zheny ikh i DĚTI poima (La., p. 491); a zabu- demъ brate domovъ zhenъ i DĚTI (La., p. 497); i issěkosha vsja i zheny i DĚTI. a inii v polonъ vzjasha (La., p. 513); a inykh zhe emshe muzhei. i zheny i DĚTI, (La., p. 515); a prochie ljudi i zheny. i DĚTI bosy i bespokrovny. izdykhajushchimъ imъ ot mraza ... to vse mnozhestvo svedosha. polona vъ stany svoja (La., p. 517).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same noun referring to children appeared sixteen times in the old acc. plu. cases in the following expressions:

i tsělova m̄trъ svoju. i DĚTI svoja (Hyp., p. 55); topisha DĚTI Zhidovъsky (Hyp., p. 82); i poslavъ nacha poimati. ou narochitoi chadi DĚTI i dajati na ouchenie knizhnoe (Hyp., p. 103); i vzja vse imē- nije ego. i zhenу ego i DĚTI ego (Hyp., p. 134); isbsekosha muzhi a zheny i DĚTI vzjasha na shchity i poidosha kъ Měньsku

(Hyp., p. 156); a v selo vřěkhavъ poimetъ zhenu ego i DĚTI (Hyp., p. 253); i poimetъ lošadъku. i zhonu ego i DĚTI ego (Hyp., p. 265); a zhenou i DĚTI ot nego otoimou (Hyp., p. 335); Stoslavou zhe by iz golovy ljubovъ izhe dati zhenou i DĚTI i drouzhinou na polonъ (Ibid.,); azimcuče zhe khochemъ vezhě svoě. i zheny svoě. i DĚTI svoě. i stada svoja. (Hyp., p. 427); bě bo togda ljuta zima velmi i vzja Olegъ. vezhě Koziny. i zhenu i DĚTI. i zlato i srebro (Hyp., p. 532); se brate Polovtsemъ esme mnogo zla stvorili... DĚTI ikhъ poimali. esmy (Hyp., p. 541); muzhě isbsěkoshā. a zheny i DĚTI pomasha, (Hyp., p. 565); i rozpusti drouzhinou svoju. i bratъju svoju i DĚTI svoja (Hyp., p. 690); ouvědav zhe Jatvjazi se. poslasha posly svoja. i DĚTI svoja, (Hyp., p. 835); nesjakhou pered nimi DĚTI ikhъ (Hyp., p. 854).

Although the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the noun 'děti' were identical, the function of the acc. case was apparent because the above noun appeared in the majority of instances as a part of the compound objective phrase. In addition, the context also provided the necessary means for syntactical comprehensibility of the objective function of the old acc. plu. case.

In spite of the predominance of the old acc. plu. case in the nouns denoting children there was one example of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the Laurentian Chronicle: "i tselova knjazъ Stōslavъ k Novugorodu. a DĚTEI Dmitrovykh i plemenikh ego vsěkh posla kъ očstū" (La., p. 490). This occurrence of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the noun 'děti' indicates that the substitution had extended itself into this group of nouns.

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case of the noun 'děti' was recorded once with the preposition 'NA' in the Laurentian Chronicle: "poidosha šnve na oṭsta.a oṭtsi NA DĚTI. brat na brata raby na ḡsnu". (La., p. 494). In the Hypatian Chronicle the same noun also appeared once in the old acc. plu. case after the preposition 'ZA': "mozhemḡ ḡsne golovy svoě polozhiti ZA tja. i DĚTI nashi". (Hyp., p. 928). The presence of the prepositions, which governed the acc. case, clearly indicated the acc. function of the nouns whose nom. and acc. plu. cases were identical. Hence, the animate-inanimate category encountered little difficulty in expressing itself after prepositions.

On the basis of the examples, and the frequencies of the old acc. sing. and plu. cases in the nouns signifying children, it is evident that these cases were still regarded as the norm for the objective function. At the same time, the three examples of the gen.-acc. sing. case and two of the gen.-acc. plu. case indicate that the substitution process was present in the sing. and plu. numbers in the nouns denoting children in both Chronicles. Because of the numerically small proportion of the gen.-acc. case of the sing. and plu. numbers in comparison with the old acc. sing. and plu. cases, one can state that the animate-inanimate category depended mainly on the old acc. case, whose function was determined contextually, and only marginally on the gen.-acc. case of both numbers.

TABLE VIII

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE SING. AND PLU. NOUNS DENOTING CHILDREN IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

TYPE OF NOUNS	C A S E	ENDING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
masc. sing. -jo-stem	a. Old Acc	-b	3	3
masc. sing. -jo-stem	a. Acc=Gen + Acc=Gen	-A	1	1
masc. plu. -jo-stem	a. Old Acc	-A	2	1
	b. Acc=Gen	-b	0	1
fem. plu. -i-stem	a. Old Acc	-I	18	16
fem. plu. -i-stem	a. Acc=Gen	-EI	1	0
fem. plu. -i-stem	a. Prep. + Acc=Old Acc	-I	1	1

## CHAPTER XI

### ANIMATE-INANIMATE CATEGORY IN THE SING. AND PLU. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING BEINGS OF THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

The discussion of the status of the animate-inanimate category in the two Chronicles has centered thus far on the masc. sing. and the masc. and fem. plu. nouns denoting persons and various peoples. In addition to these nouns, the two Chronicles contained a group of animate nouns which denoted living beings other than persons. These nouns belonged to the animal kingdom and included most nouns referring to mammals, insects, reptiles, birds, and fish.

Although the nouns of this group seldom appeared in the subject and object function in the same sentence, some of them were affected by the substitution process as evidenced by the CCS, early, and middle East Slavic texts.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the masc. sing. nouns and masc. and fem. plu. nouns of various stems signifying beings of the animal kingdom in order to determine the status of the animate-inanimate category in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

1. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Sing. and Plu. Nouns of Various Stems Denoting Beings of the Animal Kingdom in the OCS, Early, and Middle East Slavic Texts

The OCS monuments exhibit the use of both the old acc. and gen.-acc. sing. cases of the nouns of various stems denoting mammals and reptiles. Some random examples of the two different acc. cases are:

obręshteta ZHRĚBŦTSŦ privezanŦ;<sup>1</sup>

k jakozhe moisi vŦznese ZMII vŦ pustyni;<sup>2</sup>

and, viditŦ VLŦKA grędqŦhta;<sup>3</sup>

popereshi LŦVA i AMŦĚ;<sup>4</sup>

imŦ za ouzdq KONĚ jeho.<sup>5</sup>

These samples of the gen.-acc. sing. case in the nouns denoting animals indicate that the substitution process was operating in this group of nouns, which seldom appear in the subject and object role in the same sentence.

According to Kuznetsov, the reason for the presence of the gen.-acc. case in these nouns is due to the fact

<sup>1</sup>"Codex Zographensis", as cited in Gorshkov, op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>2</sup>Ščepkin, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>3</sup>"Codex Marianus", as cited in Gorshkov, op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>4</sup>"Psalterium Sinaiticum", as cited in Vaillant, op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>5</sup>"Codex Suprasliensis", ibid.

that the gen.-acc. case appeared in the nouns denoting animals in the Bulgarian texts before the Bulgarian language lost its declensional system. These texts could have appeared on the East Slavic soil prior to the loss of the declensional system.<sup>6</sup>

In the plu. number, the old acc. case, used alone or with prepositions, was prevalent in the nouns referring to animals in the OCS texts, as shown in the following sentences:

napojęť vbsję ZVĚRI silъnyję;<sup>7</sup>

Reče gъ. svoimъ ouchenikomъ. se dakhъ  
vamъ vlastъ nastopati NA ZMITE i SKORB-  
FIĚ. i na vsq silq vrazhijq.<sup>8</sup>

In the early and middle East Slavic texts, both the gen.-acc. sing. and old acc. cases of the masc. -o- and -jo-stem nouns denoting mammals and birds were recorded,<sup>9</sup> as illustrated by the following examples:

Koli pozhretъ sinitsa ORLA, togda bezumnyi  
uma nauchitsa;<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Kuznetsov, Ocherki istoricheskoi morfologii..., p. 101.

<sup>7</sup>Menges, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>8</sup>Ščepkin, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>9</sup>Kedajtene, "Razvitie form roditel'nogo-vinitel'nogo padezha...", p. 161.

<sup>10</sup>"Molenie Daniila Zatochnika," in Sipovskij, op. cit., p. 109.

To dobra PSA knjazi i bojare ljubjatъ;<sup>11</sup>

A izhe kradetъ ljubo KONъ, ljubo voly,  
ili klětъ, da ashche boudetъ edinъ kralъ,  
to grivnou i tridesjatъ rězanъ platiti emou;<sup>12</sup>

Azhe kto vsjadetъ NA chjuzhъ KСNъ, ne  
prashavъ, to 3 grivny.<sup>13</sup>

The use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. sing. cases in the nouns denoting mammals and birds indicates the presence of the substitution process, as well as a degree of competition between the two cases.

In the plu. number, according to Sprinchak,<sup>14</sup> the old acc. case was retained longer in the masc. and fem. of various stems referring to mammals and birds. This is exemplified by the following sentences:

Ne burja SOKOLY zanese chrezъ polja shirokaja;<sup>15</sup>  
sēdlaj, brate, svoi brъzyi KOMONI, a moi ti gotovi;<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 110

<sup>12</sup>"Kratkaja russkaja pravda (po Akademicheskomu spisku poloviny XV v.), in Tikhomirov, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>13</sup>"Prostrannaja russkaja pravda (po Troitskomu spisku vtoroj poloviny XIV v.) in Tikhomirov, op. cit. p. 93.

<sup>14</sup>Sprinchak, op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>15</sup>Iroicheskaja pēsny ..., pp. 6-7.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

poznaet' li na dolžě ou kogo to kupilъ, to svoě  
KUNY vozmet', i semu platiti, čto ou nego budet'  
pogiblo, a knjazju prodazhju; <sup>17</sup>

Divъja bo za bujanomъ KONI pastviti (a za  
dobrymъ knjazemъ voevati);<sup>18</sup>

i KONI i ZHEREBЪTSI i stada svoja. dal esmъ  
svoemu snu knzja vasilъju i svoei knjagine i  
svoimъ dĕtemъ;<sup>19</sup>

a vsjademъ, bratie, NA svoi brъzyja KOMONI, da  
pozrimъ sinego Donu.<sup>20</sup>

According to Borkovskij and Kuznetsov, the old acc. plu.  
case was regarded as the norm in these nouns because the  
gen.-acc. plu. case began to appear only from the seventeenth  
century.<sup>21</sup>

As a general conclusion regarding the use of the old  
acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the nouns denoting mammals  
and birds in the early and middle East Slavic texts, one can  
state that both cases were used in the sing. number. Hence,  
the animate-inanimate category depended on the distinct

<sup>17</sup>"Prostrannaja russkaja pravda (po Ademicheskomu  
spisku poloviny XV v.), in Tikhomirov, op. cit., p. 94.

<sup>18</sup>"Molenie Daniila Zatochnika", in Sipovskij,  
op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>19</sup>"Dukhovnaja gramota moskovskogo knjazja  
Dmitrija Ivanovicha do 1378 g.", in Obnorskij and  
Barkhudarov, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>20</sup>Iroicheskaia pĕsnъ..., p. 5.

<sup>21</sup>Borkovskij and Kuznetsov, op. cit., p. 210.

nom. and acc. cases, as well as on the context, in the sing. nouns of this group. In the plu. number, the dependence on the context was even stronger, since the old acc. case was retained in the nouns denoting animals.

2. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. Sing. Nouns of Various Stems Denoting Mammals in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

In the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles,<sup>22</sup> the -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting mammals appeared in the old acc. and gen.-acc. sing. cases. Thus the Laurentian Chronicle exhibited three examples of the old acc. sing. case of the -o-stems:

nětu byka velika i silna. i nalězoshа BYKъ velikъ i silenъ (La., p. 123); se zhe Isakii vsprijatъ zhitъe krepko. obleche bo sja vo vlasjanitsju. i povelě kupiti sobě KOZELъ i odra mēkhomъ KOZELъ. i bleche na vlasjanitsju (La., p. 192).

The Hypatian Chronicle had two instances of the old acc. sing. case of the -o-stems in a context similar to that of the Laurentian Chronicle: It read:

sii zhe Isakii vъsprija zhitъe krepko. oblěchesja vъ vlasjanitsju. i povelě kupiti sobě KOZELъ. i oderti meshkomъ KOZELъ. i vozъvleche i na vlasjanitsju (Hyp., p. 183).

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<sup>22</sup>A detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. sing. cases in the masc. sing. nouns of various stems denoting mammals in the two Chronicles can be examined in Table IX at the end of the chapter.

In these examples, where the nom. and acc. sing. cases of the -o-stem nouns denoting mammals were alike, the acc. function was determined by the context which, in turn, supported the animate-inanimate opposition in these nouns.

The gen.-acc. sing. case of the -o-stem nouns denoting animals was represented four times in the Laurentian Chronicle in these expressions:

i nalězoshā bykъ velikъ i silenъ. i povelě razdrazhati BYKA. vozlozhisha na nъ zhelěza gorjacha. i BYKA pustisha. i pobězhe bykъ mimo i. i pokhvati BYKA rukoju za bokъ. i vynja kozhju sъ mjasy (La., p. 123); vozvedě oči svoi khotja viděti igumena Nīkōna. i vidě CSLA stojashcha. na igumeni mēstě (La., p. 191).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the gen.-acc. sing. case of the -o-stem nouns referring to mammals occurred twice:

vъzvede oči svoi khotja viditi igumena Nīkōna. vidě OSLA stojashcha na igumeni mēstě (Hyp., p. 182); jako glasъ mnogago naroda. otъ nikhъ estъ OSLA otvrashchaja (Hyp., p. 269).

On the basis of the examples of the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases in the -o-stem nouns signifying mammals in the two Chronicles, it is evident that the latter case predominated over the former in the Laurentian Chronicle, while in the Hypatian the ratio was one to one. The animate-inanimate category was expressed in the masc. sing. -o-stem nouns denoting mammals primarily through the gen.-acc. case.

The Laurentian Chronicle revealed nine instances of the old acc. in masc. sing. -jo-stems nouns referring

to mammals:

i prispě osenъ. i pomjanu Olegъ KONъ svoi. i bē zhe postavil kormiti. i ne vsedati na nъ (La., p. 38); na pjatoe lēt pomjanu KONъ, ot nego bjakhutъ rekli volъsvi oumr̃ti (*ibid.* ); I povelē osedlati KONъ. a to vizhju kosti eg (La., p. 39); i ṽdastъ Pechenēzhъ skii knjazъ Pretichju. KONъ. sablju. strēly (La., p. 67); ljutyi zvērъ skochilъ ko mne na bedry. i KONъ so mnoju poverzhe (La., p. 251); a nyne bratъja poidēta po mnē. k Chernigovu. kto imējet KONъ. li ne imeetъ (La., p. 316); jedin zhe Polovchinъ jatъ KONъ pod nim za povodъ (La., p. 333); i s̃ekhasja prezhe vsēkh. i izlo-mi kopъe svoe. togdy zhe bodosha KONъ pod nim (La., p. 334); Danil zhe vidēvъ jako krēpchaе branъ Tat̃arъskaja naleezhitъ. i obrati KONъ svoi i bēzha (La., p. 508).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. case of the -jo-stem nouns denoting mammals occurred nineteen times in the following sentences:

i prispě osenъ i pomjanu Olegъ KONъ svoi. izhe bē postavilъ kormiti (Hyp., p. 28); pomjanu KONъ svoi. ot negozhe bjakhu rekъli volъstvi oumreti Olgovi (Hyp., p. 29); konъ oumerlъ. a ja zhivъ. i povelē osēdlati KONъ. da tъ vizhju kosti ego (Hyp., p. 29); i vdastъ Pechenēzhъkyi knjazъ Pretichu KONъ sablju. strēly (Hyp., p. 55); imēetъ KONъ. Kto li ne imēetъ konja (Hyp., p. 349); edinъ Polovchinъ. ja KONъ pod nimъ (Hyp., p. 431); i izlozhi kopъe svoe togda bodosha KONъ pod nimъ v nozdri (Hyp., p. 437); i rekъ povoroti KONъ M̃stislavъ. podъ soboju s družinoju svoeju (Hyp., p. 475); i tu skupisja družiny nēkoliko. okolo ego. i tu jasha emu KONъ (Hyp., p. 475); onъ zhe izmokъ mechъ tja ego. i potja KONъ ego podъ nimъ (Hyp., p. 727); M̃stislavъ zhe velikouju pokhavalou stvori Danilovi. i dary emou dastъ velikyi i KONъ svoi borzyi sivyi (Hyp.,

p. 735); Danilъ vidivъ jako kreptsěishi branъ nalezhitъ... obrati KONъ svoi na bęgъ (Hyp., p. 744 and pp. 746, 769, 773, 797, 804, 804, 908).

Since the nom. and the old acc. case-endings of the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns were morphologically similar, the context served as the means of determining the nom. and acc. functions in this group of nouns in both Chronicles.

Occasionally, the -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals also appeared in the gen.-acc. sing. case. There were only two examples of this case in the Laurentian Chronicle:

i idjakhutъ ljudъje po mostu.  
oubiti Igorja. on zhe ne moga ikhъ minuti.  
ouvoroti KONJA napravo mimo Glębovъ dvorъ  
(La., p. 317); da ne budetъ mnę Perejaslvlja.  
ni tobe Kyjeva. i povoroti KONJA Mstislavъ  
s družinoju svoejeju (La., p. 343).

The Hypatian Chronicle exhibited six instances of the gen.-acc. sing. case in the -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals:

onъ zhe ne moga ikhъ pomnouti. ouvoroti  
KONJA na pravo. mimo Glębovъ dvorъ  
(Hyp., p. 349); Glęba zhe ěkhavъ slysha  
i khotę na nę samъ iti. i Berendęevę  
jasha KONJA za povodъ rekushche. knjazhe  
ne ězdъ (Hyp., p. 556); Berendęevę zhe  
jasha KONJA knjazha za povodъ i ne dasha  
imъ ěkhati rekushche ne ězđiti vy na-  
peredъ (Hyp., p. 558); i otjasha ot nego  
KONJA soumnyja. potom zhe vozvratishisja  
v Galichъ (Hyp., p. 726); navorotivshesja  
na nъ i prognasha i. i KONJA ot nego otjasha  
(Hyp., p. 734); oni zhe sękoushche ja i bo-  
doushche vognasha a. vo ozero. i. mozhъ. odi-  
nogo KONJA mnjashche (Hyp., p.840).

When one compares the frequency of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals in the Laurentian Chronicle, one may conclude that the ratio between the two cases was nine to one in favour of the old acc. case. In the Hypatian Chronicle the ratio between the same cases was three to one. These ratios show that the substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. case in the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns was proceeding more rapidly in the Hypatian than in the Laurentian Chronicle.

The masc. sing. -u-stem nouns denoting mammals occurred only in the Hypatian Chronicle, where the old acc. case was represented once and the gen.-acc. case three times in these sentences:

metutъ li vola velika i silna. i nalězoshа  
VOLĀ silenъ. povelě razdrazhati VOLA. i voz-  
lozhi nъ zhelězo gorjache. i pustisha VOLA.  
i pobězhe volъ mimo nъ. i pokhvati VOLA. ru-  
koju za bokъ. i vynja kozhju s mjasy (Hyp.,  
pp. 107-108).

In view of the fact that the ratio was one to three in favour of the gen.-acc. case in the -u-stem noun, the animate-inanimate opposition relied on the latter case.

With respect to the masc. sing. -i-stem nouns referring to mammals, three examples of the old acc. case were found in the Laurentian Chronicle:

i narekōsha imja emu Kievъ i bjashe okolo  
grada sēsъ i borъ velikъ. i bjakhu lovjashcha  
ZVĚRъ bjakhu muzhi mudri i smysleni (La.,  
p. 9); y nikhъ zhe sutъ. khrabryja zheny lo-  
viti ZVĚRъ krěpko (La., p. 15); A se truzhakhъ-  
sja. lovy dēja... izhe so ottsomъ lovilъ jesmъ  
vsjakъ ZVĚRъ. (La., p. 251).

The same noun was represented once in the Hypatian Chronicle in the following sentence:

i narkosha i Kievъ. i vjashe okolo goroda  
lěsъ i borъ velikaъ. i bjakhu lovjashche  
ZVĚRЬ. bjakhutъ bo mudrě i smysleni. i na-  
ritsakhusja Poljane (Hyp., p. 7).

Since there were no examples of the gen.-acc. case of the masc. sing. -i-stem nouns denoting mammals in either Chronicle, one must conclude that the animate-inanimate category relied on the context in this group of nouns.

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases of the sing. masc. -jo-stem nouns denoting animals were recorded in both Chronicles. The Laurentian Chronicle exhibited seven examples of the old acc. case, which appeared exclusively after the preposition 'NA':

i Jaropolka vzemshe otrotsi NA KONЬ peredъ  
sja (La., p. 206); i szhalivъsi. jako bez  
nego prenesjate i. vsědъ NA KONЬ vborzě po-  
ěkha (La., p. 210); Vasilko zhe vsědъ NA  
KONЬ poěkha. i ousrěte i dětъskyi jeho  
(La., p. 258); oni zhe kliknuvshe poidosha  
oubitъ Igorja. i Volodimerъ vsědъ NA KONЬ  
pogna (La., p. 317); Bysha postrigy ou  
velikago knjazja Vsevoloda... šnu jeho  
Georgevi v gradě Suzhdali. togozh dhi i  
NA KONЬ jeho vsadi (La., p. 409); a samъ  
poidi NA KONЬ (La., p. 413); to slyshavъ  
velikyi knjazъ Vsevolodъ ..., na lěto vsěde  
NA KONЬ pro svata svojego (*ibid.* );  
to zhe slysha knzъ Jurъi, vsed NA KONЬ svoi,  
sъ bratom svoim Stoslavomъ (La., p. 519).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the preposition 'NA' also governed the old acc. case of the sing. masc. -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals. Twenty-one instances of this combination were found in these expressions:

Glěbъ zhe vsedъ NA KONĚ. poide s malomъ družiny. bě bo poslušlivъ otsju (Hyp., p. 122); i rech Boleslavъ. ashche vy sego oukor vy ne zhalъ. azъ edinъ pogibnu. i vьsedъ NA KONĚ. vьbrede v rěku. a po nemъ voi ego (Hyp., p. 130); i bēzha Nerjadetsъ prokljatyi. do Peremyšlja k Rjurikovi. a Jaropolka vzjasha otrōts NA KONĚ.peredъ sja (Hyp., p. 198); i sъzhalivsi jako bez nego prinosjati i. i vsedъ NA KONĚ v borzě poekha. (Hyp., p. 202); Vasilko zhe vsedъ NA KONĚ poekha (Hyp., p. 232); i poslasja Izjaslavъ Mьstislavichъ. polemъ k Rostislavou Jaroslavlichju ou Rjazanъ. a samъ Izjaslavъ vsede NA KONĚ (Hyp., p. 332); i tou prestavisja dobryi starechъ Petrъ Ilvichъ... ouzhe bo ot starosti ne mozhashe ni NA KONĚ vsesti (Hyp., p. 340); i Volodimirъ vsedъ NA KONĚ pogna (Hyp., p. 349); i seē mi zimy i vesny nē lzē NA KONĚ k tobě vsesti (Hyp., p. 407); Izjaslavъ zhe ottole pereshedъ za Teterēvъ... i vsedъ NA KONĚ pozva i brata k sobě (Hyp., p. 413); Izjaslavъ zhe vsedъ NA KONĚ pereide Vьzdvizhdenъ (Hyp., p. 415 and pp. 439, 501, 519, 526, 651, 674, 694, 701, 742, 756).

Since the governing preposition clearly indicated the objective function of the old acc. case in the cited examples, there was no need to replace this case with the gen. case. Besides, the combination of the preposition 'NA' and the old acc. case sing. case -- "Na konъ !" was used and remained as a fossilized and traditional expression with adverbial force in giving the command to mount the horse.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> D. N. Shmelev, Arkhaicheskie formy v sovremennom russkom jazyke (Moscow; Uchpedgiz, 1960), pp. 56-58.

Although the old acc. case of the masc. sing. -jo-stem nouns predominated after preposition 'NA', there was one instance of the gen.-acc. case with the ending -Ě after the same preposition:

storozheve zhe pribĕgosha k nemu polu-  
noshchi. rekushche idetъ Volodimerko.  
on zhe vsĕdъ NA KONĚ i s družinoju na-  
chatъ buditi Ougry (La., p. 336).

The number of examples containing the preposition 'NA' and the gen.-acc. case sing. case of the -jo-stem nouns was slightly greater in the Hypatian Chronicle. Five instances of this combination were found:

i posla kъ Izjaslavu i rech emu jaz  
ti NA KONĚ ouzhe vsĕdaju zhe i šna  
Mъstislava sъ soboju poimaju (Hyp.,  
p. 446); Izjaslavъ zhe obedavъ tu i  
tako ispolcha polky svoja i poide ko  
korolevi... i korolъ vsĕdъ NA KONĚ s  
muzhmi svoimi (Hyp., p. 447); nynĕ  
zhe brate i moemu snovi i tvoemu. Mъsti  
slavu tako sja potъklo... aby ne strjapa  
vselъ NA KONJA (Hyp., p. 695); no estъ  
mi vestъ. azhъ Vsevolodъ svatъ moi vselъ  
NA KONJA kako mi sja bylъ obĕchalъ  
(Hyp., p. 697); onъ zhe nynĕ vorogъ mi  
sja ouchinilъ... ty zhe kako mi sja esi  
obĕchalъ. vsĕsti NA KONJA i pomochi mi  
(Hyp., p. 701).

These phrases, consisting of the preposition and the gen.-acc. case, provided the animate-inanimate opposition with adequate means for its expression.

The examination of the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u-, and -i-stem nouns denoting animals in the two Chronicles revealed that the old acc. and gen.-acc. cases were used alone and after prepositions. Only the -i-stem nouns

appeared in the old acc. sing. case in this group of nouns.

The ratio between the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases without prepositions stood at five to two in the Laurentian, and seven to three in the Hypatian Chronicle, in favour of the old acc. case. After prepositions, the old acc. case was also favoured in a ratio of seven to one in the Laurentian, and four to one in the Hypatian Chronicle. However, the combined totals of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases, appearing without prepositions in the two Chronicles, show that the old acc. case had a margin of three instances to one over the gen.-acc. case. This low frequency of the gen.-acc. case in the nouns referring to mammals can be partially explained by the fact that these nouns usually appeared as complements rather than as subject and object in the same sentence. For this reason, there was no urgency for these nouns to acquire the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function.<sup>25</sup> An additional reason for the limited number of examples of the gen.-acc. case can be attributed to the nature of the substitution process, which proceeded gradually and first encompassed the nouns denoting persons and later extended itself to nouns referring to animals.

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<sup>25</sup>Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezhъ...",  
p. 259.

3. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. and Fem. Plu. Nouns of Various Stems Denoting Mammals, Insects, and Reptiles in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

The Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles revealed that the plu. nouns which denoted mammals, insects, and reptiles belonged to the masc. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stems, and fem. -a- and -ja-stems.

Examples of the old acc. plu. case with the ending-Y of the -o-stem nouns referring to mammals, insects, and reptiles were represented twenty times in the Laurentian Chronicle:<sup>26</sup>

Polovtsi zakonъ derzhatъ oтsъ svoikh. krovъ prolivati a khvaljashche o sikhъ. i jadushche merъtvecinu. i vsju nechistotu. KHOMJAKI i SU-SOLY (La., p. 16); posem zhe vъ .e.i dnъ stvori Bъ KITY i ryby GADY i ptitsa pernataja. vъ .S. i zhe dnъ stvori Bъ zveri i SKOTY i GADY zemnyja (La., p. 88); i pokori Bъ Adamu zveri i SKOTY. i obladashe vsēmi (ibid.); Stōpolkъ zhe i Volodimerъ idosta na vezhē. i vzjasha vezhē. i polonisha SKOTY i konē VELъBLUDY i cheljadъ (La., p. 228); i vidē tu chlvky nechstyja. ot plemene Nelfetova ikhze nechstotu vidēvъ jadjakhy skvernu vsjaku. KOMARY i mukhy. KOTKY zmiē. i mertvetsъ ne pogrēbakhu. no jadjakhu. i zhenъskyja izvorogy. i SKOTY vsja nechstyja (La., pp. 235-236); vzjasha bo togda SKOTY i ovtse i konē. i VELъBLUDY. i vezhē s dobyt-kom (La., p. 279); Togda, zhe Mstislavu Izjaslavichju. pomozhe Bъ na Polovtsi samēkhъ progna. a vezhē ikhъ poima. i koni i SKOTY ikhъ zaja (La., p. 339); i vzjasha sela bezъ utecha. s ljudmi. s muzhi i s

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<sup>26</sup>A detailed statistical summary concerning the use of old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases in the masc. and fem. plu. nouns of various stems denoting mammals, insects, and reptiles may be examined in Table X at the end of the chapter.

zhenami, koně. i SKOTY. i ovtsě pognasha v Polovtsě (La., p. 358); Toe zhe zimy pridoshā Polovtsi na Kyjevskuju storonu i vzjasha mnozhĭstvo selĭ za Kyjevomĭ. s ljudmi i SKOTY. i koni (La., p. 361-363); sei zhe Kotjanĭ bĕ testĭ Mstislava... i priide s poklonomĭ sĭ knĭzi Polovetĭskimi. v Galichĭ... i dary prĭnese mnogy. koni, VELĭBLUDY i BU-VOLY i dĕvky. i odari knĭzei Rusĭkykh (La., p. 504); i vzjasha SKOTY ikh a sĭ stady outĕkoshā (La., 507).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y of the -o-stem nouns denoting mammals, insects, and reptiles appeared eighteen times in these sentences:

Polovtsi zakonĭ dĕrzhatĭ otĭsĭ svoikhĭ... jadushche mrtvechinu. i vsju nechstotu. KHOMJAKY i SUSOLY. i poimajutĭ machekhy svoja, (Hyp., p. 12); stvori Bĭ KYTY i GADY. i ryby. i ptitsa pernataja. i zvĕri i SKOTY i GADY. zemnyja, (Hyp., p. 75); i pokori Bĭ Adamu zvĕri i SKOTY (Ibid.,); Stpolkĭ zhe i Volodimerĭ idosta na vezhĕ. i polonisha SKOTY i koni. i VELĭBLUDY. i cheljadjĭ, (Hyp. p. 219); i vide chlvky nechĭstyja. ot plemeni Afetova. ikhĭzhe nechstotu vivĕvĭ. jadjakhu skvernu vsjaku. KOMARY mukhy. KOTKY, (Hyp., p. 225); i dalĭ estĭ Gĭ brashno ikhĭ namĭ. vzjasha bo togda SKOTY i ovtsĕ i koni. i VELĭBLUDY i. vezhĕ s dobytkomĭ, (Hyp., p. 255); i vzjasha polona mnogo. i SKOTY i koni i ovtsĕ i kolodnikovĭ mnogo, (Hyp., p. 268); i polonĭ mnogĭ vzjalĭ samekhĭ progna. vezhĕ ikh poima. konĕ ikhĭ i SKOTY ikh zaja, (Hyp., p. 460); i vzjasha sela bezĭ ouĭĭta. sĭ ljudmi i s muzhi i sĭ zhenami. i konĕ i SKOTY i ovtsĕ pognasha vĭ Polovĭtsĕ, (Hyp., p. 556); i ljudi isĕkoshā. a zheny i deti imĕnija vzjasha. i SKOTY poimasha, (Hyp., p. 560); i gnasha v pole daletse sekoushche. i vzjasha SKOTY ikhĭ, (Hyp., p. 743).

Since the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y differed from the old nom. plu. case-ending -I, and the new nom. plu. case-ending -Y had not yet been acquired by the masc. -o-stem nouns, the animate-inanimate category depended on the old acc. plu. case for its expression.

The old acc. plu. case with ending -Ě of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals appeared eleven times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

St<sup>o</sup>polkъ zhe i Volodimerъ idosta na vezhě.  
i vzjasta vezhě. i polonisha skoty i KONĚ  
velьbludy i cheljadь (La., p. 228); i na-  
cha Beldjuzь dajati na sobě zlato. i srebro.  
i KONĚ i skotъ (La., p. 279); vzjasha bo  
togda skoty i ovtse i KONĚ. i velьbludy.  
i vezhě s dobytkom. (ibid.); vojeva Bonjakъ.  
i zaja KONĚ ou Perejaslavlja (La., p. 281);  
Toje zhe zimy pridoshа Olgovichi s Polovtsi...  
i selo pozhgosha. i Baruchъ pozhgosha. a  
ljudьbe ouidosha. i mnogъ polonъ vzjasha.  
skoty. i KONĚ (La., p. 303); v to zhe  
vremja poima gorody. Gjurgevy Olgovichъ.  
i KONĚ. i skoty. i ovtse. i tovarъ (La.,  
p. 309); Izjaslavъ zhe poslushavъ ikhъ.  
otima ou nego iměnye. i oruzhьe i KONĚ.  
i družiny jeho iskovavъ rastochi (La.,  
p. 320); Togda zhe Mstislayu Izjaslavichju.  
pomozhe Bъ na Polovtsi saměkhъ progna. a  
vezhě ikhъ poima. i KONĚ i skoty ikhъ zaja  
(La., p. 339); i vzjasha sela bezъ outecha.  
s ljudmi. s muzhi i s ljudmi. s muzhi i s  
zhenami. KONĚ. i skoty. i ovtse pognasha  
v Polovtsě (La., p. 358); knjazъ zhe Vsevolodъ  
vzratisja v Volodimerъ. a KONĚ pusti na  
Mordvu (La., p. 390); i bishasja s nimi krěpko.  
i bys seča zla velmi. družii KONĚ pustisha  
k nim sьsědshe (La., p. 398)

The same case with the ending -Ě of the -jo-stem nouns occurred in the same noun nine times in the Hypatian Chronicle in the following sentences:

togo zhe mštsa. voeva Bonjakъ. i zaja KONĚ  
 ou Perejaslavle (Hyp., p. 258); i polonъ  
 mnogъ vzjalъ samekhъ progna. vezhē ikh  
 poima. KONĚ ikhъ i skoty ikh zaja (Hyp.,  
 p. 460); ozhe bjakhu kholopi eju pokrale  
 KONĚ Mъstislavli ou stadē i pjatny svoē  
 vъsklalē (Hyp., p. 541); vzjasha sela  
 bezъ ouchъta. sъ ljudmi i s muzhi i sъ  
 zhenami. i KONĚ i skoty i ovtsē pognasha  
 vъ Polovtsē (Hyp., p. 556); prochaja zhe  
 voja ikhъ. onikhъ izbisha. a KONĚ i orou-  
 zhъe (Hyp., p. 636); no otroky derzhashcha  
 KONĚ (Hyp., p. 769); posla bo bē zlata  
 mnogo i srebra. i sosoudъ serebrenyi i zla-  
 tyi i krasnyi. i KONĚ mnogy (Hyp., p. 816);  
 ostasha zhe Tatarovē družii ou Volodi-  
 mēra. kormiti libyvēi KONĚ (Hyp., p. 893);  
 ashche li kto vyēkhashetъ ovy izbisha. a  
 drugija poimasha. a nyja loupjakhoutъ. i  
 KONĚ otimakhoutъ (ibid.).

Since the old acc. plu. case-ending -Ě of the -jo-stem nouns differed from the nom. plu. case-ending -I, there was no confusion with respect to subject and object relationship. The animate-inanimate opposition depended on the morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases in the nouns denoting mammals.

The new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stems, which was identical with the nom. plu. case-ending, was represented six times by the noun 'horse' in the Laurentian Chronicle:

se Polovtsi rosulisja po zemli. dai knjazhe oruzhъe i KONI. i eshche bъemsja s nimi (La., p. 170); a kromē togo izhe po Rovi ēzdja imalъ jesmъ svoima rukama tē zhe KONI dikiē (La., p. 251); Polovtsi zhe ouzhaso-shasja. ot strakha ne vъzmogosha ni stjaga postaviti. no pobēgosha khvatajushche KONI. a družii peshe pobēgosha (La., p. 282); a Rostovtsi i boljarъ vse povjazasha ... a sela boljarъskaja vzjasha. i KONI. i skotъ (La., p. 382);

a Volodimertsii i družhina povedosha kolodniky. i skotъ pognasha i KONI (*ibid.*); i dary prinese mnogy. KONI velъbudy i buvolы i devky. i odari knъzei Rusъkykh (La., p. 504).

The acc. plu. function of the case which appeared with the new acc. plu. case-ending -I was determined from the context, and from the fact that the noun in question formed a compound objective unit.

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the new acc. plu. case-ending -I of the -jo-stem nouns occurred eight times in the noun 'horse':

se Polovtsi rosoulisja po zemli. da vdai knjazhe oruzhъja i KONI. i eshche bьemъsja s nimi (Hyp., p. 160); i polonisha skoty i KONI. i velъbludy (Hyp., p. 219); i dalъ estъ Gь brashno ikhъ namъ. vzjasha bo togda skoty i ovtse i KONI. i velъbludy i vezhe s dobytkomъ (Hyp., p. 255); i vzjasha polona mnogo. i skoty i KONI i ovtse i kolodnikovъ mnogo. (Hyp., p. 268); oustrēmisja na ně. i poustisha KONI k tovaromъ ikhъ (Hyp., p. 622); i tou abьe poustisha k nimъ KONI, (Hyp., p. 633); i v bozhnitsakhъ pochasha KONI stavljati i v yzbakhъ (Hyp., p. 665).

In view of the fact that the above acc. plu. case of the -jo-stems was similar to the nom. plu. case, the subject and object case function were ascertained through the context, which was also responsible for the realization of the animate-inanimate category in the noun denoting a 'horse' in both Chronicles.

The masc. plu. -i-stem nouns, whose nom. and acc. plu. cases differed morphologically, had the ending -I in the acc. plu. case. This case was represented twice in the Laurentian Chronicle in the noun 'zverъ':

vъ .s.i zhe dnъ stvori Bъ ZVĚRI i skoty  
i gady zemnyja (La., p. 88); i pokori  
Bъ Adamu ZVĚRI i skoty. i obladashe  
vsěmi (ibid.).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same noun occurred three times in the acc. plu. case; once with the ending -Ě, and twice with the ending -I:

v nikhъ zhe sutъ i khorobry. zheny  
loviti ZVĚŘĚ krěpъky (Hyp., p. 11);  
and, stvori Bъ kyty i gady. i ryby.  
i ptica pernatyja. i ZVĚRI i skoty i  
gady. zemnyja (Hyp., p. 75); i po-  
kori Bъ Adamu ZVĚRI i skoty (ibid.).

These examples indicate that the animate-inanimate category depended for its expression in the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns on the dissimilar nom. and acc. cases.

Although the old acc. plu. cases predominated in the masc. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns referring to mammals, insects, and reptiles in both Chronicles, only the -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals exhibited the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case. This case appeared in the noun 'horse' and was represented by the old gen. plu. case-ending -ъ of the -jo-stems, and the gen. plu. case-endings -II and -ĚI of the -i-stems.

The Laurentian Chronicle revealed three examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -ъ in the following sentences:

a se v Chernigově dějalъ jesmъ. KONъ  
dikikh svoima rukama svjazalъ jesmъ  
(La., p. 251); Много бо postradasha  
chlvtsi ot nego. vъ derzhanъi ego.  
i selъ iznebyvshi i oruzhъja. i KONъ.

druzii zhe i roboty dobysha (La., p. 354-355); družhina opolonishasja. i kolodniky povedosha. oruzhъja dobysha i KONъ. i vъzvratishisja domovъ (La., p. 396).

The Hypatian Chronicle contained two instances of the gen.-acc. plu. case with the ending -II, and one with the ending -ĚI, as shown in these expressions:

Polovtsi zhe vzhasoshasja ot strakha. ne vъzmogosha i stjaga postaviti. no pobęgosha khvatajuchi KONII (Hyp., p. 258); no se divno mja brate. ozhe smerdovъ zhaluete i ikhъ KONII (Hyp., p. 265); and, Borishъ zhe priękha i privede saigatzъ. korolevi i KONĚI vo sędlękhъ (Hyp., p. 857).

The examples of the gen.-acc. plu. case of the -jo-stem nouns denoting mammals, though limited in both Chronicles, indicate that the substitution process also appeared in the plu. nouns denoting mammals. This fact demonstrates that the process of restoring the animate-inanimate opposition in animate nouns was not confined to the nouns denoting persons, but extended itself to animate nouns other than persons.

In the post-prepositional use, the old acc. plu. case was recorded in the Laurentian Chronicle once in the -o-stems,

poslakhъ na vy razlichnyja bolęzni i smerti tjazhkyja. i NA SKCTY kaznъ svoju poslakh (La., p. 168); oni zhe ne poslusha no oudarisha V KONĚ k protivnymъ (La., p. 231); i poidosha na konikhъ. i v lodъjakhъ. i pridoshа nizhe porogъ. i ştashe v protolchekh. V Khortichem ostrovę. i vsędosha NA KONĚ.

i pěshi is lodei vyshe (La., pp. 277-278);  
 Polovtsi zhe vsedshe NA KONĚ vь bronjakh  
 za shchity s kopьi. jakozhe bitьsja (La.,  
 p. 332).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the prepositions also governed the old acc. plu. cases of the nouns denoting mammals. The -o-stem noun occurred once with the acc. plu. ending -Ě of the -jo-stems: "poslakhъ na vy razlichnyja bolezni. i smrti tjazhьky. i NA SKOTĚ ikhъ. kaznъ svoju poslakhъ" (Hyp., p. 157).

In the examples of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting mammals, the old acc. plu. case-ending -Ě appeared three times after prepositions, while the ending -JA (a variant of the OCS acc. case-ending -E ) occurred once. The nouns with these case-endings were recorded only in the Hypatian Chronicle:

i nacha Volodimerъ khotěti porjaditi družiny. oni zhe ne poslushasha no udarisha v KONĚ. kъ protivnymъ (Hyp., p. 222); i ottuda idosha na sěni i vyimasha zoloto i kamenьe dorogoe... i vьskladьshe NA mьstnyě KONĚ. poslasha do světa. prochъ (Hyp., p. 589); Rjurikъ sdouma a muzhi svoimi. i posla posolъ ko svatou svoemou. Vsevolodu Souzhdalьskomou knъzju reka emou. ka esi bylъ oumolvilъ so mnoju. i s bratomъ noimъ Dvdomъ. vosěsti NA KONĚ, s rъznstva Khva (Hyp., p. 694); and, Polovtsi zhe zouljubiyьshe doumou ego. potoptavshe rotou ego dělja. i vsėdosha NA KONJA. i ěkha-vshe izьekhasha gorodъ. Chjurnaevъ (Hyp., p. 669).

The new acc. plu. case with ending -I of the -jo-stem nouns occurred three times in the Laurentian Chronicle:

i Vsevolodъ knjazъ Kyeвъskyi pride s zhenoju i so vsěmi boljary. i s Kyjany. Perejaslavlju na svadbu. i ottudu rasshedshesja. i vsědosha NA KONI na Volodimerka na Galichъ (La., p. 311); a sami poidosha po Volžě vnizъ. i tu pometasha vozy NA KONI polězosha. i poidosha k Perejaslavlju vojujuchi (La., p. 493); slyshav zhe Dvdъ Romanovichъ. i gnavъ vsěd NA KONI. i sushchii s nimъ konnitsi (La., p. 506).

The Hypatian Chronicle had two instances of the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I after the preposition 'NA' in these sentences:

to slyshavъ Stěslavъ. vborzě vsědъ NA KONI. sъ družinoju svoeju. i pride kъ Kievu (Hyp., p. 55); Mьstislavъ zhe sъ družinoju vsědъ NA KONI. i nacha buditi Ougry (Hyp., p. 442).

The presence of the prepositions before the new acc. plu. ending -I, which was identical with the nom. plu. case-ending, precluded syntactical confusion between the subject and object relationship.

As for the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns denoting mammals, only one example of the old acc. plu. case after a preposition was found. It appeared in the Laurentian Chronicle:

"Lovъ dejushche Svenaldichju. imenemъ Ljutъ, ishedъ bo is Kieva gna PO ZVĚRI v lěsě. i ouzrě i Olegъ" (La., p. 74).

The utilization of prepositions before the old and new acc. plu. cases of the masc. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns denoting mammals eliminated the possibility of

confusion of case functions. The animate-inanimate category was expressed adequately in these nouns through the use of prepositions with the acc. plu. cases, whenever they were identical with the nom. plu. cases. Although the prepositions governing the acc. cases eliminated syntactical confusion, they retarded the substitution process.

In summarizing the use of the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases in the masc. plu. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns indicating mammals, insects, and reptiles, it is apparent that the gen.-acc. plu. case and the old acc. plu. case appeared in a ratio of one to ten in the Laurentian Chronicle and one to eleven in the Hypatian Chronicle. Although use of the old acc. plu. case had a decisive margin over the gen.-acc. plu. case, one fact seems clear -- the animate-inanimate category was being restored by the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the above group of nouns.

Another group of plu. nouns, which denoted mammals and insects, belonged to the fem. gender. They were of the -a- and -ja-stems. The nom. and acc. plu. case-endings of the -a- and -ja-stems were identical, namely -Y (-I) and -Ě, respectively.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the acc. plu. case with endings -Y (-I) of the -a-stems occurred three times in these sentences:

i rech imъ Volodmerъ pozhdĕte. dazhe vy KUNY sberutъ za mŕstŕb (La., p. 78 79); i vidĕ tu chivky nechŕstyja. ot plemene Nelfetova ikhzhе nechŕstotu vidĕvъ jadjakhu shernu vsjaky. komary i MUKHY (La., p. 235); Togo zhe lĕta bys morъ v Novĕgorodĕ ot glada. inii ljudi rĕzakhu svoego brata i jadjakhu... a družii koninu i psinu. i KOSHKI. inii mokhъ sosnu (La., p. 512);

The Hypatian Chronicle also had three examples of the old acc. fem. plu. case-endings in the following nouns:

i rech imъ Volodimirъ. pozhdete dazhe vy KUNY sberut za mŕstŕb (Hyp., p. 66); i vidĕ chivky nechŕstyja. ot plemeni Afetova. ikhzhе nechŕstotu vidĕvъ. jadjakhu skyernu vsjaku. komary MUKHY, kotky. zmeja (Hyp., p. 225); ekhav zhe Kosnjatinъ poima, na nikhъ danъ. chernyja KUNY i belъ srebro (Hyp., p. 835).

Since the nom. and acc. plu. case-endings were morphologically identical in the fem. -a-stem nouns denoting mammals and insects, the acc. function of these cases was determined by the context, wherein they appeared as members of compound objective units.

The fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns signifying mammals and reptiles appeared with two different acc. plu. case-endings: the ending -JA, a reflex of the OCS case-ending -Ě; and the ending -Ě, which was similar to the nom. plu. case-ending. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the former case-ending appeared twice, while the latter case occurred four times:

Se zhe sbyŕssja prrchenъje blŕhnago ōtsa nashego Feodosъja. dobrago pastukha. izhe pasjashe slovesnyja OVTSJA. nelitsemĕrno s krotostъju (La., p. 212); po istine dobryi pastukhъ. izhe pasetъ slovesnyja OVTSJA nelitsemĕrno. s krotostъju i s rasmotrensem

La., p. 391); and i vidě tu chlvky nechstyja. ot plemene Nelfetova ikhzhe nechstotu videv̆ jadjakhu skvernu vsjaku. komary i mukhy. kotky ZMIĚ (La., p. 235); dāl̆ jesi sim brashno ljudem Rus̆skym. vzjasha bo togda skoty i CVTSĚ i koně. i vel̆bludy (La., p. 279); v to zhe vremja poima gorody. Gjuregevy Olgovich̆. i koně. i skoty. i OVTSĔ. i tovar̆ (La., p. 309); i vzjasha sela bez̆ outecha. s ljudmi. s muzhi i s zhenami. koně. i skoty. i OVTSĔ pognasha v Polovtsě (La., p. 358).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns referring to mammals and reptiles was represented once by the case-ending -A and -JA, and -JA, and six times by case-ending -Ě:

se sbysja prorēchen̆e bl̆zhnago ota nashego Fedos̆ja. dobrago pastukha. izhe pasjashe slovesnyja OVTSA. ne litsem̆erno so krotost̆ju (Hyp., p. 204); i vidě chlvky nechstyja. ot plemeni Afeteva. ikhzhe nechstotu vivev̆. jadjakhu skvernu vsjaku. komary mukhy. kotky. ZMEJA (Hyp., p. 225); and, i dal̆ est̆ Ğ brashno ikh̆ nam̆. vzjasha bo togda skoty i OVTSĔ i koni. i vel̆bludy i vezhē s dobytkom̆ (Hyp., p. 255); i vzjasha polona mnogo. i skoty i koni i OVTSĔ i kolodnikov̆ mnogo (Hyp., p. 268); V to zhe vremja. poima Vsevolod̆ gorody Gjurgev̆ koně skot̆ OVTSĔ. i kde ch̆to chjuja tovar̆ (Hyp., p. 309); i vzjasha sele bez̆ ouch̆ta. s̆ ljudmi i s muzhi i s̆ zhenami. i koně i skoty i OVTSĔ pognasha v̆ Polov̆tsě (Hyp., p. 556).

Since the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns denoting animals were identical, the objective function of the acc. case was determined by the context, and by the fact that they formed an objective unit together with other nouns in the acc. function. Thus, the animate-inanimate opposition was expressed adequately

in the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns denoting mammals in both Chronicles.

On the basis of the cited examples pertaining to the fem. plu. -a- and -ja-stem nouns signifying mammals, insects, and reptiles, it is apparent that these nouns were not affected by the substitution process, which aimed to restore the animate-inanimate opposition in all animate nouns.

4. Animate-Inanimate Category in the Masc. and Fem. Plu. Nouns of Various Stems Denoting Birds and Fish in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles

Another group of masc. and fem. plu. nouns which denoted beings other than persons were represented in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles by the nouns signifying birds and fish. The nouns referring to birds were of the masc. plu. -jo- and i-stems, while the noun fish was of the fem. plu. -a-stems.

A -jo-stem noun was recorded twice in the gen.-acc. plu. case; once with the ending -ьI in the Laurentian Chronicle,<sup>27</sup> and once with the ending -II in the Hypatian Chronicle.

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<sup>27</sup>A detailed statistical summary concerning the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases in the masc. and fem. plu. nouns of various stems denoting birds and fish in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles may be examined in Table XI at the end of the chapter.

An *-i-*stem noun, which also appeared once in each Chronicle, had an old acc. plu. case with the ending *-I* in the Laurentian, and the ending *-I* in the Hypatian Chronicle. Sentences which illustrate the use of the old acc. plu. case of the *-i-*stem nouns, and the gen.-acc. case of the *-jo-*stems denoting birds in the two Chronicles are as follows:

i povelě Olga jako smerchesja pustiti GOLUBI i VOROBĚI. voemъ svoimъ. golubi zhe i voroběve poletěsha vъ gnězda svoja (La., p. 59); and, i povelě Olga jako smērchesja pustiti GOLUBĪ. i VOROBII voemъ svoimъ. golubevi zhe i voroběve poletěsha vъ gněda svoja (Hyp., p. 48).

The objective function of the *-i-*stem noun 'golubi' was evident from the context, because it was a constituent member of the compound complement of the transitive verb.

The fem. plu. nouns denoting birds were of the *-ja-*stems. They were represented by the case-endings *-A* and *-Ě* in both Chronicles. The Laurentian Chronicle had one example for each acc. plu. case-ending in these sentences:

posem zhe vъ .ě.i dnъ stvori Бъ kity i ryby. gady i PTITSA pernatyja (La., p. 88); i sbisha Ougry aky v mjachъ. jako se sokolъ abivajetъ GALITSE. i poběgosha Ougri (La. p. 271).

The same nouns with similar case-endings also appeared once in the Hypatian Chronicle:

po semъ zhe vъ .ē. dnъ. stvori Bъ kyty  
i gady. i ryby. i PTITSA pernayja (Hyp.,  
p. 75); i sbisha Ougry v mjachъ. jako  
sokolъ GALITSE zbivaetъ. i pobēgosha  
Ougre (Hyp., p. 246).

These examples indicate that the acc. function of the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns denoting birds was determined from the context.

As a group, the masc. and fem. plu. nouns referring to birds also demonstrated the presence of the substitution process as a means of reinstating the animate-inanimate opposition in animate nouns other than persons.

The last class of animate plu. nouns which belonged to the animal kingdom and which appeared in both Chronicles denoted fish. The fem. noun 'ryba' of the -a-stems was the only noun which occurred with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y in the two Chronicles.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, this noun was represented three times in the following sentences:

ashche obrjashchetъ vъ vustě Dněprъskomъ  
Rusъ. Korsunjany RYBY lovjashcha. da ne  
tvorjatъ imъ zla nikakozhe (La., p. 51);  
posem zhe vъ .ē. i dnъ stvori Bъ kity i  
RYBY. gady i ptitsa pernatyja (La., p.  
88); i poidosta po Volzě. kde pridutъ v  
pogoste, tuzhe naritsakhu. luchъshiē  
zheny glshcha. jako si zhito derzhitъ.  
a si medъ. a si RYBY. a si skoru  
(La., p. 175).

In the Hypatian Chronicle, the same nouns appeared five times with the old acc. plu. case-ending -Y in these expressions:

i ashche obrashchjuty Rusъ Korъsunjany RYBY lovjashcha vъ ousty Dněpra. da ne tvorjat imъ zla nikakogozh (Hyp., p. 39); po semъ zhe vъ .ě. dnъ. stvori Bъ kyty i gady. i RYBY. i ptitsa pernatyja (Hyp., p. 75); povele oustroiti kola. i vъskladyvasha khleby mjasa RYBY. i ovoshchъ raznolichъnyi (Hyp., p. 110); i poidosta po Volzě. i kdě pridouchi v pogostъ. tu zhe nachashchasta luchъshija zheny glъshcha jako si zhito derzhatъ. a sii medъ. a sii RYBY. a sii skoru... ona zhe v mъchtě prorezavshe za plechemъ. vynimasta ljubo zhito ljubo RYBY. ili vēveritsju i oubivasha i (Hyp., p. 165); vecheru sushchju i v nedělju vyidosha iz goroda. i poklonishasja knjazemъ Ruskymъ. i vynesosha RYBY i vino. i perelezhasha noshchъ tu (Hyp., p. 266).

The old acc. plu. case, which was similar to the nom. plu. of the -a-stem nouns denoting fish, was recognized as such from the context in both Chronicles, as well as from the fact that it formed a constituent member of the compound objective unit. The apparent lack of the gen.-acc. plu. case in the noun 'ryba' leads one to the conclusion that this group of nouns was not affected by the substitution process.

In summarizing the findings related to the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases of the sing. and plu. numbers in the nouns denoting members of the animal kingdom in the two Chronicles, several remarks can be made.

First, it is evident that the substitution process appeared in the masc. sing. -o- and -jo-stem nouns referring to mammals in both Chronicles. The masc. sing. -u-stem nouns signifying mammals exhibited the use of the gen.-acc. sing. case only in the Hypatian Chronicle. In the masc.

sing. -i-stem nouns, only the old acc. sing. case was found in both Chronicles.

Second, the masc. and fem. plu. nouns denoting mammals, insects, and reptiles appeared overwhelmingly in the old acc. plu. case. Only the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns signifying mammals was partially represented by the gen.-acc. plu. case in both Chronicles.

Third, in the plu. nouns referring to birds and fish only the masc. plu. -jo-stem noun denoting a bird appeared in the gen.-acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. The noun signifying fish was represented by the old acc. plu. case.

Fourth, the question of the extension of the substitution process from the nouns denoting persons to the animate nouns other than those signifying human beings, has been discussed by several scholars.

Thomson contended that persons are used in the role of subject with three quarters of the transitive verbs in the contemporary Russian language.<sup>28</sup> Nouns referring to animals may appear as subjects, along with nouns denoting persons or inanimate objects with one quarter of the transitive verbs. Furthermore, nouns signifying animals may be used in the objective capacity

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<sup>28</sup>This statement was made in 1908 at the time of writing of the article "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj pade-zhъ...", p. 257.

with thirty-seven per cent of transitive verbs. These verbs can, at the same time govern the acc. case of the nouns denoting persons and inanimate objects. On the basis of these considerations, Thomson asserted that, although animals are capable of performing action in a way comparable to persons, and of assuming the role of subject and object, they appear primarily in the objective case. This is especially true when a person appears in a role of subject. Hence the degree of probability for the nouns denoting animals to function as both subject and object in the same sentence is limited. Because of the marginal possibility of this happening according to Thomson there was no urgency for the nouns denoting animals to acquire the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function. However, since the gen.-acc. case was used in the acc. function in the nouns referring to animals, though the need for such a case in the nouns signifying animals was not urgent. for this reason, Thomson concluded that the gen.-acc. case appeared sporadically in the nouns denoting animals.<sup>29</sup>

Kuznetsov suggested that the use of the gen.-acc. case in nouns denoting animals was prompted by the presence of the perfective verb because "Sovershennyj zhe vid

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<sup>29</sup>Thomson, "Roditel'nyj-vinitel'nyj padezhъ...", pp. 257-259.

peredaët bol'shuju opredel'ennost' dejstvija (osobeno pristavochnyj)." <sup>30</sup> In supporting this contention, Kuznetsov cites the following phrases: "i BYKA pustisha; i pokhvati BYKA rukoju za bokъ" (La., p. 123). However, similar examples show that the role of perfective forms of verbs is not universally applicable, as in the following sentences:

Danil zhe viděvъ jako krěpcae branъ Tatarъskaja nalezhitъ. i obrati KONъ svoi i bēzha (La., 508); i vdastъ Pechenezhъkyi knjazъ Pretichu KONъ sablju. strěly (Hyp., p. 55).

Thus, Kuznetsov's explanation cannot be accepted as satisfactory.

Bezpal'ko maintained that the gen.-acc. cases in the masc. sing. nouns referring to mammals appeared as a result of the following two factors: first, the need to differentiate the subject and the object whenever there was no intervening element between them; second, by the stylistic need to emphasize the objective function of nouns denoting mammals and birds. As proof of his explanation Bezpal'ko cites two phrases from the "Slovo Daniila Aztochnika", which read: "koli pozhretъ SINITSJA ORLA", and "dobra PSA KNJAZI i BOJARE ljubjatъ". <sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Kuznetsov, Istoricheskaja grammatika..., p. 121

<sup>31</sup> Bezpal'ko, op. cit., p. 423.

Although Bezpalyko substantiated his contention by citing appropriate examples, his explanation failed to account for the appearance of the gen.-acc. case whenever the above conditions were absent.

The views of Thomson, Kuznetsov, and Bezpalyko concerning the extension of the substitution process from the animate nouns denoting persons to those signifying animals provided only a partial explanation. Their viewpoints were substantiated by appropriate yet isolated examples which did not account for the appearance of the gen.-acc. case in the remaining instances.

In the opinion of this researcher, the extension of the substitution process from the nouns denoting persons to those signifying various members of the animal kingdom can be explained by the nature of the animate-inanimate category.

It is evident that for the animate-inanimate category the aim was to restore morphological distinction in the nom. and acc. cases in all animate nouns by utilizing the gen.-acc. case for the acc. function. The realization of this goal through substitution depended on the hierarchical order of animate nouns: on their capacity to act as both subject and object; on the frequency of their occurrence in these functions; and on the urgency to differentiate the nom. and acc. cases.

The proper nouns can be considered the most active, and able to appear most frequently in the roles of subject and object. They had already acquired the gen.-acc. case, as evidenced by the material from the two Chronicles. These nouns were followed by the masc. sing., and masc. and fem. plu. common nouns denoting persons in acquiring the gen.-acc. case.

As for the remaining masc. sing. and masc. and fem. plu. nouns signifying mammals, insects, reptiles, birds, and fish, there was less urgency to differentiate their nom. and acc. cases. They were slower to develop the substitution process than were the nouns referring to persons because of the limited possibility of their acting as subject and object in the same sentence. However, they were neither excluded *from* the substitution of the gen. case for the old acc. case nor from the ultimate goal of the inclusion of all animate nouns within the framework of the animate-inanimate category.

In brief, one can state that the limited number of examples of the gen.-acc. cases of both sing. and plu. numbers in the nouns denoting members of the animal kingdom is indicative of the fact that the animate-inanimate category was in <sup>the</sup> process of being gradually re-established in all animate nouns. The material examined in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles showed that the animate-inanimate

category was passing through a stage of development and had not attained its goal of fulfillment.

TABLE IX

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF  
MASC. SING. NOUNS DENOTING MAMMALS IN  
THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

MASC. SING. DENOTING ANIMALS	C A S E	ENDING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
-o-stem	a. Old Acc	-b	3	2
	b. Acc=Gen	-A	4	2
-jo-stem	a. Old Acc	-b	9	19
	b. Acc=Gen	-JA	2	6
-u-stem	a. Old Acc	-b	0	1
	b. Acc=Gen	-A	0	3
-i-stem	a. Old Acc	-b	3	1
-jo-stem	a. Prep + Old Acc	-b	7	21
	b. Prep + Gen=Acc	-JA	1	5

TABLE X

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE MASC. AND FEM. PLU. NOUNS DENOTING MAMMALS INSECTS AND REPTILES IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

PLU. NOUNS DENOTING ANIMALS	C A S E	ENDING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
masc. -o-stem	a. Old Acc	-Y	20	18
masc. -jo-stem	a. Old Acc	-E	11	9
	b. New Acc=Nom	-I	6	8
masc. -i-stem	a. Old Acc	-I	2	2
	b. Old Acc	-Ě	0	1
masc. -jo-stem	a. Acc=Old Gen	-b	3	0
	b. Acc=Gen	-II	0	2
	c. Acc=Gen	-ĚI	0	1
masc. -o-stem	a. Prep + Old Acc	-Y	1	0
	b. Prep + Old Acc	-Ě	0	1
masc. -jo-stem	a. Prep + Old Acc	-Ě	0	3
	b. Prep + Old Acc	-JA	0	1
	c. Prep + New Acc	-I	3	2
masc. -i-stem	a. Prep + Old Acc	-I	1	0
fem. -a-stem	a. Old Acc	-Y(-I)	3	3
fem. -ja-stem	a. Old Acc	-A	0	1
	b. Old Acc	-JA	2	1
	c. Old Acc	-Ě	4	6

TABLE XI

STATISTICAL SUMMARY CONCERNING THE USE OF THE OLD ACC. AND GEN.-ACC. CASES IN THE MASC. AND FEM. PLU. NOUNS OF VARIOUS STEMS DENOTING BIRDS AND FISH IN THE LAURENTIAN AND HYPATIAN CHRONICLES

PLU. NOUNS DENOTING BIRDS	C A S E	ENDING	FREQUENCY	
			LA.	HYP.
masc. -jo-stem	a. Acc=Gen	-b1	1	0
	b. Acc=Gen	-II	0	1
masc. -i-stem	a. Old Acc	-I	1	0
	b. Old Acc	-Ī	0	1
fem. -ja-stem	a. Old Acc	-A	1	1
	b. Old Acc	-Ě	1	1
PLU. NOUNS DENOTING FISH				
fem. -a-stem	a. Old Acc	-Y	3	5

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of the dissertation was to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in the proper and common animate nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

The problem of assessing the status of the animate-inanimate category in the various animate nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicle involved the consideration of three factors.

In any given group of animate nouns, the determination of the exact status of the animate-inanimate category depended upon: 1. the progress of the substitution process in replacing the old acc. case by the gen.-acc. case as the ideal means of restoring syntactical clarity; 2. the dual role of the prepositions governing the acc. case and simultaneously supporting the category by precluding syntactical ambiguity, and thus retarding the acquisition of the gen. acc. case by the governed nouns; 3. the extent to which the relatively free word order of Slavic syntax weakened the ability of the context to act as an adequate supportive measure for the animate-inanimate category.

A statistical analysis of the relative influence of the above factors provided the criteria for assessing the status of the animate-inanimate category throughout the two Chronicles

It was concluded that the animate-inanimate category in the masc. sing. proper nouns relied for its expression on different nom. and acc.-acc. sing. cases, as evidenced by the material in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

With respect to the common masc. sing. animate nouns denoting persons, it was established on the basis of the findings in the two Chronicles that the process of substitution was virtually complete in these nouns. Statistical evidence shows that in the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons, the ratio between the old acc. case and the gen.-acc. cases was one to fourteen in favour of the gen.-acc. case in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ratio for the same cases was one to eleven in the Hypatian Chronicle. Even though it was compiled several decades later than the Laurentian Chronicle, the ratio illustrating the frequencies of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the Hypatian Chronicle makes it evident that this Chronicle was more conservative in adopting innovations, and tended to preserve the traditional case-forms.

There are several factors which expedited the extension of the substitution process from the masc. sing. proper nouns to the common masc. sing. nouns of various stems denoting persons. Of the factors which facilitated the extension of the substitution process from the masc. sing. proper nouns denoting persons to the comparable masc. sing. common nouns, the primary one was of the sui generis type. It originated

in the grammatical principle of the animate-inanimate category itself, which demanded differentiation in the nom. and acc. cases in order to express adequately the subject and object in the nouns denoting persons.

Since both proper and common animate nouns were used with the same frequency in the subject and object functions, the need to distinguish the nom. and acc. cases was equally urgent in both groups of nouns. The substitution process provided the necessary distinction between the nom. and acc. cases, and facilitated the syntactical clarity required to uphold the animate-inanimate category.

As the common masc. sing. nouns belonged to the animate-inanimate category prior to the phonetic changes, it was simply a matter of time until these nouns began to function syntactically in a manner parallel to that of the proper nouns. Thus the substitution process was extended to the common masc. sing. animate nouns.

In other words, the completion of the substitution process in the proper masc. animate nouns established the precedent of using the gen. case ending in the acc. function in animate nouns denoting persons. The analogical influence of this substitution contributed to the extension of the process to the common masc. animate nouns.

The use of the gen. case as an object after verbs of perception, et cetera, could also have facilitated the adoption of the old acc. case, to avoid syntactical ambiguity.

Briefly, the combined influence of the above mentioned

factors can be regarded as being responsible for the extension of the substitution process to the common masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.

In the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, the findings pertaining to the masc. plu. nouns of the -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns denoting persons indicate that these nouns were affected by the substitution process to a lesser degree than were the masc. sing. animate nouns signifying persons.

In the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns, used alone or after prepositions, the use of the old acc. case predominated over that of the gen.-acc. case in both Chronicles. There were ten instances of the old acc. case to one of the gen.-acc. in the Laurentian Chronicle. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the old acc. appeared eleven times, the gen.-acc. once. Statistically, the respective ratios were ten to one and eleven to one.

The Hypatian Chronicle was somewhat slower than the Laurentian to adopt the gen. plu. case for the old acc. case. The reason for the continued occurrence of the old acc. case lies in the morphological difference between the old nom. and the old acc. plu. cases. Their respective case endings were -I- and -Y. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the ending -Y was introduced into the nom. case, making the nom. and acc. plu. case endings identical. It was at this point that the substitution process became an active motivational force for the differentiation of the nom. and acc. plu. cases

of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting persons.

Since the simplifying of plu. case endings in the masc. plu. -o- stem nouns on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems was a gradual process, the substitution and simplification processes proceeded in accordance with one another. In other words, so long as the nom. and acc. cases were different, the role of the substitution process was minimal. This is shown in the two Chronicles through the use of both the old acc. and the gen. acc. cases in the masc. plu. -o- stem nouns.

Thus, the animate-inanimate category was primarily dependent upon the morphological distinction between the old nom. and acc. plu. cases, and its dependence on the use of the gen.-acc. case was of secondary importance.

In the two Chronicles, the situation of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons differed somewhat from that of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns. The acc. plu. case-ending -Ě of the -jo-stems was rapidly being replaced by the new acc. plu. case ending -I. This -I ending was identical with the ending of the nom. plu. case. In the Laurentian Chronicle, there were two examples of the variations of the old acc. case for every one of the new acc. plu. case giving a ratio of two to one, respectively. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the ratio between the same two respective cases was five to four. These ratios indicate the existence of a greater possibility of confusing the nom. and the new acc. plu. cases of the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns. For this reason, the need to replace the new acc. plu.

case with the gen. acc. case was urgent.

In spite of the need for morphological distinction between the two cases, the examination of the Chronicles revealed that the use of the new acc. case-ending -I predominated over that of the new gen.-acc. case. The ratio in the Laurentian Chronicle was seven to one; it was eight to one in the Hypatian. Although the ratio between the combined totals of the old acc. and the new gen.-acc. plu cases was only ten to one in the Laurentian Chronicle and fourteen to one in the Hypatian Chronicle, the recorded examples of the gen.-acc. case indicate that substitution process had appeared in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting persons in the two Chronicles.

In conclusion, one can state that in both Chronicles the maintenance of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns relied on: the distinction between the nom. and the variant acc. plu. cases; on the context; and, to lesser extent, on the use of the gen.-acc. case.

In regard to masc. plu. -u-stem nouns referring to persons, it should be stated that the nom. and acc. cases were differentiated and, therefore, they were not affected by the substitution process. The old acc. plu. case appeared in the objective function as well as after the preposition in both Chronicles. Thus, the animate-inanimate category relied for its expression on the old morphological distinction in the mon. and acc. plu. cases.

In the masc. plu. -i-stem nouns signifying persons, it was found that the distinction between the old nom. and the old acc. plu. cases was maintained. For this reason, there was no urgency to replace the old acc. plu. case. However, both Chronicles exhibited the presence of the gen.-acc. plu. cases in these nouns. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the ratio between the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases was twenty-nine to one in favour of the old acc. plu. cases; in the Hypatian Chronicle, the ratio between the same cases was eighteen to one. These ratios between the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases clearly indicate that in both Chronicles the animate-inanimate category depended largely on the old acc. case and marginally on the gen.-acc. case.

In both Chronicles, the findings of this research indicated that the use of the old acc. plu. case was predominant over that of the gen. acc. plu. case in the masc. plu. -o- and -jo- stem nouns representing various peoples.

Both Chronicles reveal that in the group of -o-stem nouns, which had no suffixes in the sing. number, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -Y was used exclusively. Hence, the status of the animate-inanimate category in each Chronicle depended on the distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases, whose endings were -I and -Y, respectively. The new nom. acc. plu. case-ending -Y was identical with that of the acc. plu. case-ending. Since this nom. case-ending appeared five times in the Laurentian Chronicle and once in the Hypatian

Chronicle, the expression of the animate-inanimate category relied on the context in these instances.

In the second group of the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns which had the suffixes -IN- -<sup>V</sup>EN- -AN- and -JAN- in the sing. number, the nom. and the acc. plu. cases were represented by the endings -E and -Y respectively. The acc. plu. case was also represented by a number of other acc. cases<sup>in</sup> the Laurentian Chronicle; the combined totals of the old acc. cases and its variants, when compared with the total of the gen.-acc. plu. cases, stood at eight to one in favour of the old acc. plu. case. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the ratio between the same cases was eighteen to one.

There were few examples of the use of the gen.-acc. case in these nouns because their nom. and acc. cases were distinct. Also, a number of different acc. case-endings were utilized to express the acc. function.

In view of these considerations, in both Chronicles the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -o-stem nouns denoting various peoples was expressed mainly through the distinction in the nom. and acc. plu. cases.

Although the gen.-acc. plu. case had made its appearance in this group of nouns, it had a negligible effect on the status of the animate-inanimate category in both Chronicles.

The masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples exhibited three different acc. plu. case-endings in each of

the Chronicles: the old acc. plu. case with the ending -E; the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I (identical with the nom. plu. case-ending); and the gen.-acc. plu. case-ending.

As a result of the simplification of the plu. case-endings, the ratio between the old acc. and the new acc. plu. cases was one to one in the Laurentian Chronicle. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the use of the old acc. plu. case was favoured seven to six. In other words, the old acc. plu. case with the ending -E was being replaced by the new acc. plu. case with the ending -I in both Chronicles. Since this ending was identical with the nom. plu. case-ending, the need to distinguish between the two morphologically identical yet syntactically different cases was imperative.

In view of this urgency, the gen.-acc. plu. case appeared in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns in both Chronicles. Five examples of this case were found in the Laurentian Chronicle and four instances in the Hypatian Chronicle. Comparatively speaking, the ratio between the new acc. plu. case (identical with the nom. plu. case) and the new gen.-acc. plu. case was seven to one in favour of the new acc. plu. case in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ratio between the same cases was eighteen to one in the Hypatian Chronicle. This Chronicle exhibited greater resistance in admitting innovations in its masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various peoples.

From these observations one can conclude that the

status of the animate-inanimate category in the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns denoting various people in the two Chronicles depended largely on the old acc. plu. case, which differed from the nom. plu. case; on the context where the nom. and acc. plu. cases were identical; and only marginally on the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case.

One can conclude that the factors which motivated the appearance of the substitution process in the group of masc. plu. -o-, -jo-, and -i-stem nouns denoting persons and various groups of peoples were similar to those factors responsible for the introduction of the use of this process in the masc. sing. nouns signifying persons.

The masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns which differentiated their nom. and acc. cases in historical times, prior to the simplification of case-endings on the basis of 'hard' and 'soft' stems, did not tolerate the identification of the above cases. Such a situation was neither conducive to the maintenance of syntactical clarity nor to the support of the animate-inanimate category. For these reasons, the gen.-acc. plu. case was being adopted by the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons and various peoples. The utilization of the gen.-acc. case in the masc. plu. nouns was facilitated by analogy from the masc. sing. nouns denoting persons.

An additional motive for the extension of the substitution process to the masc. plu. -o- and -jo-stem nouns denoting persons and various peoples was the ultimate goal

of restoring the animate-inanimate category through the use of distinct case-endings for the nom. and acc. cases in animate nouns.

Evidence from the Chronicles showed that both the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases were used for the acc. function in the group of fem. plu. -a-, -ja-, -er- and - $\bar{u}$ -stem nouns denoting persons.

In the -a-stem nouns, which had identical nom. and acc. plu. cases, the gen.-acc. plu. case appeared once in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ratio between the old acc. and gen.-acc. plu. cases was twenty-two to one in the Laurentian Chronicle and twelve to zero in the Hypatian Chronicle. Hence, The expression of the animate-inanimate category relied exclusively on the distinction between the old acc. and the nom. plu. cases, whose respective functions were determined from the context.

In the group of fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns, the use of the new acc. plu. case and the old acc. plu. case (which was identical with the nom. plu. case) stood in a ratio of two to one in the Laurentian Chronicle and three to two in the Hypatian Chronicle. In addition to the new acc. plu. case, the gen.-acc. plu. case appeared in the -ja-stem nouns. The ratio between the new and the old acc. plu. cases was one to seven in the Laurentian Chronicle, and one to six in the Hypatian Chronicle. The above ratios indicate that three elements contributed to the retention of the animate-

inanimate category as a grammatical device in the two Chronicles. These elements were: the morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases; the use of the old acc. case (whose function was ascertained contextually); and, to a lesser degree, on the use of the gen.-acc. case.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, the animate-inanimate category depended contextually on the old acc. case in the fem. plu. -er- stem nouns. The animate-inanimate category in these nouns relied on the gen.-acc. case as well as on the old acc. case in the Hypatian Chronicle. The ratio in the latter Chronicle was one to two in favour of the old acc. plu. case.

In both Chronicles, the animate-inanimate category in the fem. plu. - $\bar{u}$ -stem nouns denoting persons depended exclusively on the old acc. plu. case, whose function was determined by the context.

On the basis of the above findings, one can conclude that the fem. plu. animate nouns of various stems were affected by the substitution process to a minor degree in both Chronicles. In the Laurentian Chronicle, the ratio between the gen. acc. plu. case and the old acc. plu. case was one to eighteen, while in the Hypatian Chronicle, it was one to seven.

Although the nom. and acc. sing. cases of the masc. sing. animate nouns and the nom. and acc. plu. cases of the fem. plu. nouns denoting persons became identical in the

late Common Slavic period, the fem. plu. nouns felt the effects of the substitution process to a lesser degree, and at a later time than did the masc. sing. animate nouns. The later appearance of the substitution process in the fem. plu. nouns can be attributed to the infrequent use of these nouns in the roles of subject and object in the same sentence. Since there was no syntactical ambiguity, there was no urgency to differentiate the nom. and acc. plu. cases in the fem. plu. nouns. The eventual introduction of the substitution process to include these nouns can be regarded as a part of the movement to include all animate nouns within the framework of the animate-inanimate category.

The appearance of both the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in the two Chronicles shows that the substitution process was present in the masc. sing. -o- and -jo- stem nouns, in the masc. plu. -jo- stem nouns, and in the fem. plu. -i- stem nouns referring to children.

In the masc. sing. -o- and -jo-stem nouns, the ratio between the old acc. case and the gen.-acc. case in the Laurentian Chronicle was three to two, while in the Hypatian Chronicle the ratio was three to one. Hence the animate-inanimate category depended primarily on the context, and only marginally on the gen.-acc. case.

In the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns, the ratio between the old acc. plu. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases was two to zero in the Laurentian Chronicle, and one to one in the

Hypatian Chronicle. Again, the animate-inanimate opposition relied on the context for its expression.

In the fem. plu. -i-stem nouns denoting children, the old acc. and the gen.-acc. plu. cases appeared in a ratio of eighteen to one in favour of the old acc. plu. case in the Laurentian Chronicle and sixteen to zero in the Hypatian Chronicle. The old acc. plu. case of the fem. plu. -i-stem nouns also appeared after prepositions.

The paucity of examples of the gen.-acc. case in both Chronicles indicates that the animate-inanimate category relied for the most part on the use of the old acc. cases and on the arrangement of the elements in given sentences.

One of the prime reasons for the retention of the old acc. case in the nouns denoting children is the fact that these nouns seldom appeared in the subject and object capacity in the same sentence. Therefore, there was no urgency to replace the old acc. sing. and plu. cases with the gen. case of the appropriate num. in these nouns.

With respect to the masc. sing. -o-, -jo-, -u- and -i-stem nouns denoting mammals, it was found that the old acc. and the gen.-acc. sing. cases appeared in a ratio of seven to one in the Laurentian Chronicle. The ratio between the same acc. sing. cases was three to one in the Hypatian Chronicle. This indicates that the latter Chronicle had a larger proportion the gen.-acc. cases than did the Laurentian Chronicle. These ratios would seem to emphasize

the dependence of the animate-inanimate category on the old acc. sing. case, whose function was determined by the context. The category also relied on the gen.-acc. sing. case in both Chronicles.

As a group, the masc. plu. -o-, -jo- and -i-stem nouns denoting animals exhibited the use of the old and new acc. plu. cases as well as the gen.-acc. plu. case.

The gen.-acc. plu. case, however, was not represented by the -o- and -i-stem nouns. Since these nouns retained the distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases, the animate-inanimate category relied for its adequate expression on their morphological differentiation.

In regard to the masc. plu. -jo-stem nouns, the numerical proportion between the old acc. plu. case and the new acc. plu. case, which was similar to the nom. plu. case, stood at eleven to nine in the Laurentian Chronicle and thirteen to ten in the Hypatian Chronicle. Although the use of old acc. plu. case predominated, the presence of the new acc. plu. case evoked the adoption of the gen.-acc. plu. case. This case appeared three times in each Chronicle. Thus the ratio between the combined totals of the old acc. and the new acc. plu. cases, on the one hand, and the gen.-acc. plu. case, on the other, was seven to one in the Laurentian Chronicle and eight to one in the Hypatian Chronicle. This marginal proportion is sufficient to lead one to the conclusion that the substitution process was present in the masc. plu.

-jo-stem nouns denoting animals in both Chronicles.

In the fem. plu. -a-stem nouns denoting animals, the animate-inanimate category depended contextually on the old acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. As for the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns, the same category relied on the old acc. plu. case, which was identical with the nom. plu. case, and also on two other acc. plu. cases which differed from the nom. plu. case.

Of the masc. plu. nouns signifying birds, only the -jo-stem nouns were represented exclusively by the gen.-acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. Thus, the animate-inanimate category utilized the gen.-acc. plu. case for its expression. The masc. plu. -i-stems supported the animate-inanimate category by the <sup>use of the</sup> old acc. plu. case in both Chronicles. In the fem. plu. -ja-stem nouns denoting birds, the animate-inanimate opposition was upheld contextually by the old acc. case and its variants in both Chronicles.

Finally, the masc. plu. -o-stems and fem. plu. -a-stem nouns denoting fish, the animate-inanimate category relied on the context.

In summary, one can state that the status of the animate-inanimate category, as revealed by the material in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles constantly was changing as the substitution process progressed. The following factors played contributory roles in the development of the animate-inanimate category.

The first factor was that the substitution process was a gradual one. It did not affect all animate nouns at one time, or to the same degree. This created a situation wherein there was competition between the old acc. case and the gen.-acc. case. The most adequate expression of the animate-inanimate category occurred when the use of the innovative gen.-acc. case predominated. This was most evident in the proper masc. sing. nouns denoting persons. Whenever the old acc. case was retained, and the relatively free word order of Slavic syntax provided insufficient means for distinguishing the subject and object, the animate-inanimate category was forced to rely on the context for its expression.

The second factor is that the prepositions governing the acc. case supported the animate-inanimate category. At the same time, their preclusion of syntactical ambiguity acted to retard the appearance of the gen.-acc. case in the animate nouns.

Statistical analysis of the two factors--the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases with and without prepositions--constituted the criteria by which the status of the animate-inanimate category was determined in different animate nouns in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

After careful evaluating of the status of the animate-inanimate category in both the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles, this writer has reached several significant conclusions, enumerated below.

First, since the substitution process was not complete; the goal of animate-inanimate category was only partially attained in these Chronicles.

Second, the one principle of morphological distinction between the nom. and acc. cases in the animate nouns remained constant. This distinction remained the medium of expression utilized by the animate-inanimate category from the time of its adoption from the Indo-European system.

Third, when the phonetic changes which occurred in the late Common Slavic period destroyed the morphological differences between the nom. and acc. cases, there emerged the substitution process as the most efficient means of re-constituting the animate-inanimate category. This was being accomplished through the use of the gen.-acc. case.

Fourth, the presence of the substitution process, with varying degrees of frequency in the enumerated groups of animate nouns denoting persons and animals, leads one to the conclusion that the animate-inanimate category followed a systematic and a hierarchical pattern of development after the phonetic changes in regaining animate nouns into its system.

The proper and common masc. sing. nouns which denoted persons and functioned primarily as subject and object were the first to acquire the gen.-acc. case. This group of nouns was followed by the masc. plu. nouns signifying persons and various peoples. They were influenced by the substitution process to a lesser degree than was the previous group of nouns.

The fem. plu. nouns denoting persons and the masc. sing. nouns referring to children were least affected by the substitution process. The animate nouns signifying various members of the animal kingdom underwent substitution even to a lesser degree than the previous group of nouns.

Fifth, the use of prepositions governing the acc. case in some instances, precluded syntactical ambiguity between the non. and acc. case, thus retarding the progress of the substitution process into these nouns.

Sixth, it is possible that the relatively free word order of the Slavic syntax may have hastened the substitution, since the context was not a reliable means of support for the animate-inanimate category.

Seventh, the inclusion of the rationalia and animalia kingdoms into its grammatical system indicated the universal scope of the animate-inanimate category during its period of development after the phonetic changes.

Finally, during the preparation of this dissertation, it became evident that further research is necessary in this area in order to establish a comprehensive picture of the status of the animate-inanimate category in the East Slavic texts and languages. Future investigation of this problem should concern itself with the examination of the various tests which constitute the common literary heritage of the Eastern Slavs. Similar research should be initiated in the literary monuments which belong to separate East Slavic

languages -- Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian. In both instances, whenever feasible, careful scrutiny should be directed to the 'written', 'spoken', and 'dialectal' features of the respective languages. Only on the basis of such findings will it be possible to comprehend the nature of the animate-inanimate category in the phase of development subsequent to the phonetic changes.

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ABSTRACT OF

The Animate-Inanimate Category in the  
Proper and Common Animate Nouns in the  
Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles<sup>1</sup>

by Michael Burtniak

The status of the animate-inanimate category in common and proper animate nouns, as it is set forth in the Laurentian (1377) and Hypatian (ca. 1420) is the problem investigated in this dissertation.

As a grammatical device, the animate-inanimate category meant that the nom. and acc. cases of the animate nouns were morphologically different, while in the inanimate nouns the same cases were identical. The distinction between the nom. and acc. cases precluded syntactical ambiguity in the animate nouns, and provided the basis for the adequate expression of the animate-inanimate category as it existed in the Indo-European and Common Slavic systems prior to the phonetic changes.

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A series of phonetic changes, which occurred in the late Common Slavic period, brought about the identification of the nom. and acc. cases in the masc. sing. and fem. plu. nouns denoting animate beings. In order to differentiate the subject and object cases in these nouns, a substitution process was introduced, first into the masc. sing. proper and common nouns denoting persons. The fem. plu. nouns denoting persons were affected by the substitution process at a much later time. The aim of the substitution process was to replace the old acc. case with the gen. case in order to re-establish the distinction in the subject and object cases, and to uphold the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns.

Since the substitution process was a gradual one, it affected specific animate nouns at different times. This research proposes to assess the status of the animate-inanimate category in its new phase of development as it is reflected in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

The study consists of an introduction, eleven chapters, and a summary and conclusion.

In the introduction, the problem of the dissertation, its purpose and its importance are briefly stated. Next, an outline of the content of the chapters is presented. Finally, both the material and methodology to be used in the dissertation are described.

Chapter I, entitled "The Origin of the Problem", deals with three aspects of the animate-inanimate category. In

section one, the nature of the animate-inanimate category, as understood in the Indo-European system, is described. Section two discusses the phonetic changes which caused the identification of the nom. and acc. cases of various animate nouns in the late Common Slavic period. In the final section, attention is devoted to the emergence of the substitution process as a means of restoring the animate-inanimate category in the animate nouns.

Chapter II is devoted to a critique of previous research which attempted to explain the origin of the substitution process. In each of the five sections of the chapter, a specific theory, advanced by one or more scholars is examined with respect to its merits and its contribution to the elucidation of the substitution phenomenon.

Chapters III through XI deal, whenever feasible, with the brief characterization of the substitution process and the animate-inanimate category in the OCS, early, and middle East Slavic texts is presented. Then the substantive matter of the dissertation is discussed: the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.

Since the substitution process gradually introduced the use of the gen.-acc. case in place of the old case, both cases were used for the acc. function. In an effort to determine which of the two cases was used more frequently, statistical data were assembled for every group of nouns.

As the frequencies of the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases were calculated and interpreted, they provided information concerning both the progress of the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in various animate nouns in the two Chronicles.

Specifically, chapter III discusses the substitution process which, with minor exceptions, was completed in the masc. sing. proper nouns denoting persons. The animate-inanimate category depended for its expression on the distinction between the nom. and gen.-acc. cases.

Chapter IV examines the substitution process and the status of the animate-inanimate category in different masc. sing. common nouns denoting persons. The findings reveal that the substitution process was almost complete and, therefore, the animate-inanimate category depended to a slight extent on the context.

Chapters V, VI, and VII deal with the substitution process as it was extended to the masc. plu. nouns denoting persons. From the evidence obtained, it is clear that the substitution process had already made its appearance. But the old acc. plu. case and its variants, rather than the gen.-acc. plu. case still predominated in the acc. function. Hence, the animate-inanimate category relied on the distinction between the nom. and acc. plu. cases, the context, and, to some degree, on the gen.-acc. plu. case.

In chapter VIII, masc. plu. nouns signifying various peoples are examined with respect to the substitution process. It was found that the use of the gen.-acc. plu. case was limited. In view of this circumstance, the animate-inanimate category was expressed, for the most part, through the distinct nom. plu. case and the variety of acc. plu. cases.

Chapter IX discusses the substitution process as it affected fem. plu. nouns referring to persons. Since the substitution process occurred marginally in these nouns, one can conclude that the animate-inanimate category depended mainly on the context for its expression.

Chapter X is devoted to the examination of the use of the old acc. and the gen.-acc. cases in sing. and plu. nouns denoting children. The results of the findings show that the substitution process was present in both sing. and plu. nouns, but the old acc. case was still regarded as the norm for the objective function. Hence, the animate-inanimate category relied in the majority of instances on the context.

The summary and conclusion contains a brief resume of the chapter discussions, and remarks concerning the status of the animate-inanimate category as reflected in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles.